

# METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D., Editor.

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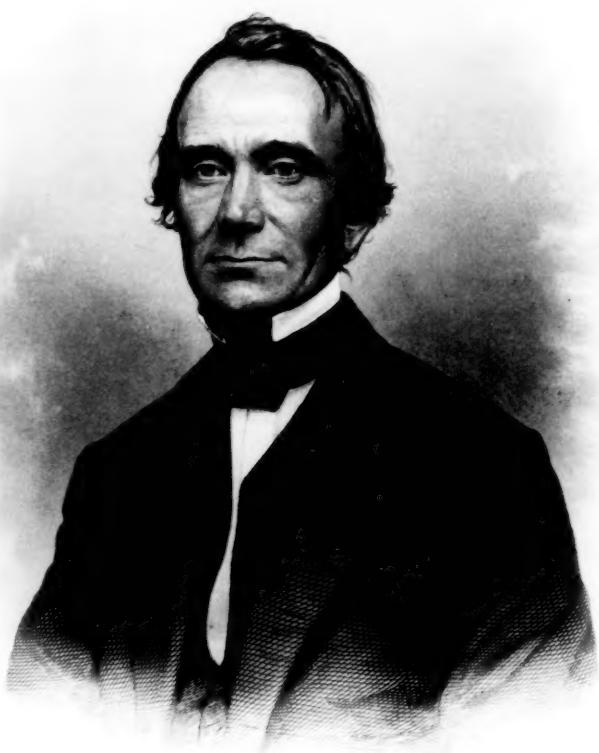
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*E. Thomson*

# METHODIST REVIEW.

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MARCH, 1885.

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## AET. I.—BISHOP THOMSON.

“BISHOP THOMSON is a man of yesterday,” said a prince in Israel to the writer. So is Arnold of Rugby. So the gifted and lovely Switzer, Lavater. So Chrysostom and St. John. Each graced his age, and though of yesterday, he belongs to to day and to-morrow.

Edward Thomson was called to his place in the middle of the nineteenth century, and fitted to it with singular felicity. We of to-day owe something to his “yesterday.” He passed in succession to various places of distinction: Doctor of Medicine, Doctor of Divinity, Doctor of Laws, Bishop—adding luster to each. But as a jewel is a jewel still, no matter what incasings its worth calls round it, so was he superior to scalpel, bema, and miter. The simple name Edward Thomson points to that for which he was most remarkable, *the worth of his own rare nature.*

In person he was under size, never weighing over 125 pounds; so in body, as in mind, there was nothing superfluous. His form, though delicate, was erect and vital. In walking his carriage was elegant, modest, manly. To see him pass up the aisle to the rostrum, meekly as if the humblest of all his brethren, yet erect and grand as if consciously an ambassador from heaven, was in itself part of a liberal education. The poise of that perfect head above erect shoulders gave a striking air of symmetry. The head was large, but so filled out and curved in outline as to seem neither round nor unduly long. There were no crags nor crannies for the hiding of over-developed faculties or the brewing of tempestuous passion—a head to

contain what we call genius, but wherein genius must never misbehave itself. Into his fine face were set a pair of sensitive nostrils the play of which was always a little prophetic of the flashes of thought that at times seemed to leap from the entire man. The eye was a bright gray, bordering on blue, sometimes hinting of brown—a vast, deep eye. It held a latent flame, which, when kindled and turned upon any hapless rogue of a student who deserved detection, was like a search-warrant, and when lit in the hour of mental excitement flashed and swept with a far reach, like the eagle's when turned toward the sun. The lines of the mouth, not small nor large, curved into that fine shape suggestive of an eagle's wings, and which is never the gate-way for the utterances of a small soul. His voice was light but fine, and of great flexibility; less a tenor than that of Simpson, less metallic than that of Wendell Phillips, but more musical than either.

When this small man stood before a throng—the more select the more complete his control—sweeping over it the forces of his mighty spirit, men would bow before him as trees in a storm, or rise from their seats by a common impulse,—an event that occurred in several notable instances. Then would his small stature seem transfigured to the towering dimensions of his soul, and he stood ranking with such as Watts, Wesley, Knox, and Paul, his brotherhood of gigantic spirits in petit forms.

Thomson's life was given mainly to his Church, but his nature was larger than a denomination's lines. As Payson was wider than Congregationalism, Edwards than Presbyterianism, Stanley than English Churchism, so Thomson's nature reached the communion of saints and the brotherhood of man. He died fourteen years ago. A singular tardiness has held the pen of the biographer, an unaccountable silence has hung over his tomb. Meager, indeed, are the records of his worth. The great Cyclopedias bearing the name of his illustrious compeer M'Clin-took devotees to him but a very brief space, scarcely worthy the fame of many an exhorter! Does it not reflect upon the men he educated and the Church he ornamented that this silence has hung over his name and the riches of his unpublished writings more than a dozen years? Perhaps a timid sense of inadequacy for so rare a task has held others back, as the writer has found himself held from even this humble attempt. Men

are slow to undertake the embodiment of ideals too fine to be cut in marble or thrown on canvas, and when partially delineated, too rare to be seen by a world too distant or dim-eyed to catch the vision. Those who knew Thomson best are sure he cannot be reported.

Years ago Judge Nott, now of Colorado, said to the writer:

Why not prepare a lecture for the inspiration of young men, on Edward Thomson? I saw him but once: he came to M'Ken-dree College to lecture on Hugh Latimer. He also talked to us in chapel. As a boy I was strangely overcome. He *was to me a new sort of man.*

This furnished the germ. Afterward Dr. Whedon wrote me:

I am glad to know you are doing something to honor the memory of our late beloved Bishop Thomson. The lovely spirit and brilliant genius of that memorable man should be kept fresh in the memory of the Church.

Rev. Mr. Daniels says, in his "History of Methodism:"

There were doubtless weak places in him, since he was a mortal man; but neither his pupils, his parishioners, nor his subordinates in the ministry seem to have been able to discover them.

Dr. Townsend, of Boston Theological Seminary, writes me:

I regard him as one of the purest minds in the history of the Church, and one of its strongest and clearest thinkers. For loftiness and clearness of conception, and for purity and simplicity of expression, Bishop Thomson has had no superior, if equal, in the Methodist Connection.

A deliberate statement from very high authority.

Dr. Warren, president of the same University, also writes, in a private letter concerning a course of lectures:

In those days Boston was favored with an unusual number of lecture courses on moral and religious subjects, but it would be hard to instance a single one which, in combined sweetness and strength, in force of argument and in beauty, clearness, and pregnancy of style, could be considered the equal of Bishop Thomson's. A memorial of his life, character, and work should long ago have been given to the world.

President Eliot, of Harvard, having attended those lectures, remarked that he "knew of no man who used the English language more faultlessly than Bishop Thomson." A notable concession from one so little in sympathy with the trend of the lectures.

William Morley Punshon, with his power to penetrate character and his genius for lofty and accurate utterances, in eulogy on our dead before the General Conference of 1872, exclaimed :

Thomson, the Chrysostom of your Church, of golden speech and golden value ; whose large, child-like spirit could not harbor a thought of guile, and who seemed ever as if detained on earth by slight and trembling tendrils!

Carlyle says, in sarcasm on fashionable biography : "Your true hero must have no features, but must be a white, stainless, impersonal ghost-hero." Then adds, of true biography : "They that crowd about bonfires may get their beards singed. It is the price of illumination." Alas for Carlyle's beard at Froude's bonfire, made of private letters from the garret !

We might shrink from illuminating Edward Thomson with pine knots, whose smoke makes shadows, but in the presence of these, among the very head-lights of the times, there is no risk to him. Turn on the electric light ! Bring your solar microscope ! The stronger the light the better shows the man. Few places in the world furnish a severer ordeal than the keen intellects and moral sensitiveness of such literary centers as Delaware. But nowhere else would we more gladly challenge admiration than where he spent fourteen years of splendid, transparent life.

But he was early appreciated outside of Ohio. In his 26th year he was pastor in Detroit. One describing his ministry says :

He drew many of the most influential families, and among them Governor Cass. The audience was frequently entranced by the magic of that indefinable power we call eloquence, and in a few instances they were lifted quite beyond the regions of sense, and with them the speaker was carried by an uncontrollable inspiration out of himself, and seemed only the passive instrument through which a higher—a divine—power was pouring words and thoughts and feelings and bursts of electric sympathies, till speaker and audience together, spell-bound in each other's embrace, seemed sweeping upward to the highest heavens.

On one occasion, during a temperance agitation, when the debates of the Legislature were carried round among the churches of Detroit, and both sides were publicly advocated, Thomson was speaking. Unexpectedly the whole audience rose to their feet.

Nor did this popularity make him vain, though so young. Once in that city his heart sank, and, like Moses and Elijah before him, he desired to abandon his work. That is usually an indifferent life in which there is no juniper-tree. There are not to such many Horebs, parting Jordans, and chariots of fire. Thomson was on his way to give up the key and go home. At the sexton's door he overheard the voice of prayer. It was a plea for the young pastor. His heart smote him. He cried, "God forgive me for shrinking while thy servant so pleads!" He abandoned his purpose. Blessed be the Aarons and Hurs of the belfry!

Michigan offered him her highest honor. When founding her University, which has won high rank at Heidelberg and Oxford, she called Edward Thomson to its presidency. But fortunately for Methodism he was already inaugurated at Delaware, and preferred his own Church and his conscience, with half the salary, to the honor of presiding at Ann Arbor.

If Gotham, on Manhattan Island, with her "bosses" and ships, had too much dust in her eyes to see this pure spirit, though for years amid her din; if Baltimore, with her tobacco and oysters, was slow to hear the eloquence of this rare orator; if Chicago, with her pork and emigrant trains, did seem scarcely competent to recognize this son of light—so Jerusalem, with her priests and Pharisees—so Rome, with her Cesars, gladiators, and bacchanals—received not him who had been caught up to Paradise, and there heard words that it was not possible for a man to utter.

Edward Thomson was born on the Isle of Man, Oct. 10, 1810. He spent the first nine years of life in that pent-up island a sickly child. The family emigrated to the wonderful "West," of which the little boy was forming visions as he hung on his father's chair-back, listening to the reports and growing schemes of the household. On the voyage the ship was run down by a pirate and overhauled. The Thomsons might have walked the plank, and so, missing the American, reached too soon the eternal, shore. But the pirate captain finding among the captured crew a brother, and "blood being thicker than water," it floated them on to America and to us. They settled at Wooster, Ohio, and were thus unconsciously preparing the richest endowment ever made to the Ohio Wesleyan University.

His first ten years in the New World were spent partly in the limited school advantages about him, and then in the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania. He then spent a year as physician in Jeromeville, Ohio; six years in the itinerant ministry; six years principal of Norwalk Seminary, Ohio; two years editor of "Ladies' Repository," where he challenged attention even outside his denomination as a writer of rare force and beauty; fourteen years (from 1846 to 1860) as president of Ohio Wesleyan University—years to him of life's greatest harmony and power, and from which there was but one way to move higher, and that was heavenward; four years (from 1860 to 1864) editor of "The Christian Advocate," a sphere he ornamented but never enjoyed. The misunderstandings and strifes of the impending rebellion drew upon him for what he possessed in almost limitless measure—the love of a John and the courage of a Paul.

Elected Bishop on the first ballot in 1864, he began his closing career by going as first of his colleagues round the world, to look with his seer-like eyes upon the great parish of John Wesley. Though sick and sad, he gave two volumes of wonderful grasp, and fairly prophetic in their pictures of the future. They were left cruder in form than was his wont, but it was because he was wearying for his long rest, in which he laid him down at Wheeling, in March, 1870. His age was 60 when, with such a constellation as Kingsley, Clark, M'Clintock, at nearly the same time, he left our sky for the upper heavens.

Who then was Edward Thomson? By what measures shall we estimate him? He died a Bishop in the most numerous Church communion on earth. But above that was his fitness for the scepter of intellectual leadership as a quickening educator; and above that still, and outside of all functional views, was the rarity of his nature.

Entering more within his nature, the first quality arresting attention was his *guileless purity, very child-like*, a quality often associated with greatness. To say he was saintly does not well describe him. That savors of the sacerdotal; of this Thomson had none. He has been compared to Fletcher of Madeley. But Fletcher was mystical; Thomson was not. Nothing of cell or cowl for him. His was an ear for the world's harmonies, an eye for its lights, a hand for its strifes.

His heart beat with the pulse of the age. His the broad earth and wide heaven. His soul plumed itself on the heights, and spread its wings into the boundless. *But those wings were white.*

This purity was the hiding of his power, reaching farther than he knew. When traveling in Switzerland with a friend to whom he had become greatly attached in travel, they discussed the feasibility of visiting Chamouni and seeing Mont Blanc. Whose eyes could have so feasted on that heart of Swiss scenery, or so wondered at that great white throne of grandeur, as could his? But to do so, complete his business plans, and reach Paris and the sea, he must travel on Sunday. He decided to miss Chamouni. His friend saw Mont Blanc, but never saw his home. He traveled on Sunday, reached the ship, and the ship reached the bottom of the Atlantic. Thomson missed the sight and the ship and the depth, but held his grasp on his young men. The lesson of that tender conscience followed, and fell on the thrilled hearts of four hundred of them in burning words from the lips of Professor McCabe. It had gathered momentum by its birth amid the distant Swiss mountains and the leagues of intervening ocean.

This pervading purity of nature, hid nowhere, is under focal rays when surrounded by pupils with penetrating young eyes. Every teacher is weighed in accurate balances, and the false character is as sure of detection as was Belshazzar. Purity reaches farther than precepts, rules, laws, or faculty votes.

Edward Thomson could be a fine detective. That small frame, carrying round its apparently abstracted soul, was more effective than a sheriff's posse. Woe betide the student in a trial of wits! But his government made little show of its presence. It was *felt*, but scarcely seen. He could reach the hidden in character and the nameless in conduct. He spoke on secret vice, and with word and look and gesture would tear aside the veil, and guilt would shudder as if some angel of light were present. His eye one day caught sight of a vile sentence written where innocent eyes might read and be contaminated. He rebuked it openly with a sarcasm and recoil of abhorrence that curled on his lips, and flamed from his eye so terribly as to bring blushes to innocent cheeks, and must have scared the culprit into longing for a hiding place.

He could stand before his mixed audiences on Sunday, com-

posed of the refinement of college and city, and preach on Jezebel, or the perils of her door, which is hell's mouth, with no more taint of indelicacy than was in the rebuke of Him who sent away all accusers by writing on the ground and giving permission to the guiltless to cast the first stone. In a public rebuke of disorderly conduct he has been known to so lay bare the conscience as to bring tears of repentance, to be followed by real reformation. He could and did quell a rebellion in one flash of a brilliant, witty, overmastering sentence. A daring student was publicly expelled. He was a hero and a leader, and the university young. As he retired from the sentence there was a burst of applause. Next morning the president said: "There is doubt whether the applause was for the verdict or the offender. If for the latter, rise up; if the former, remain seated." By that time they were cool, and remained seated in approval of the verdict.

A circus was coming. Instead of advertising it by a warning, he simply said, in a casual way: "They who attend circuses are either green or depraved." My seat-mate winced under the points of both horns of the dilemma, and was finally gored by the latter.

A depredation on the bell had been perpetrated, the rogue leaving his pocket-knife on the scene. The doctor simply alluded to it, and said: "The knife is here; the owner can come forward and claim it." Tantalizing clew! what if it should let out the secret!

These merry traits show that his purity was not frigid. It did not repel the warm heart of youth. He knew what is in man when struck by Cupid's arrow—a crisis when most educators are powerless, if not indifferent. Even parents abandon their children to youth's heated fancy, or the crude if not vicious leadership of writers of romance.

I hate the name of "college widow," relict of unguided folly, or heartless recklessness and cruelty. Percival's lines are not inapt in college towns:

"I saw on a lonely mountain height  
A gem that shone like fire by night;  
I climbed the peak, and found it soon  
A lump of ice in the clear, cold moon.  
Wouldst thou its hidden sense impart?—  
'Twas a cheerful look and a broken heart."

Many a witty, wise maxim fell from his lips, showing that he was an elder brother.

Call seldom at the seminary. Paul says, "Let your moderation be known to all men," and, let us add, women, too.

Beware of the grace-hoop [a game then in vogue], lest it fall about your neck. The freshman's beloved is often the senior's despised.

In those days, writing from Europe, he analyzed the nations on this basis :

I wish advice, . . . a serious matter—getting married. Is it best? . . . Nobody in particular. . . . Marrying in the abstract. That is *young Germany*.

No use to deny me or run from me—where you go I will go, where you stop I will stop, . . . where you die I will die, where you are buried I will be buried.—*Young Ireland*.

Zounds! I love her, and I will have her if I have to swim the river for her.—*Young America*.

Worth three thousand one hundred and twenty-seven pounds six shillings and fourpence halfpenny, which, under the circumstances, is not quite sufficient.—*Young England*.

When young people read such from his pen, and heard him embellish his lectures with such sentiment as the "Irishman's Lament,"

"I'm sitting on the stile, Mary,  
Where we sat side by side,  
'Mid the bright May morn  
And the springing corn,  
When first you were my bride,"

they welcomed him into the holy of holies of their hearts, as a mitered priest, wise, reverent, and stainless.

This purity of character had a delicacy of grain which was natural, but its renewal and completion was *the fruit of the Spirit*. Ere he was twenty he was a member of a skeptical club which undertook to traverse and disprove Christianity. Thomson grew serious in the appalling work, as candid skeptics do. Unrest led him to the village prayer-meeting, reminding us of the little groups where young Nast was led to light, where Wesley's heart was "strangely warmed," and where tent-makers turned the learned Apollos into an apostle. The preaching of Russel Bigelow, whom he afterward declared filled the same place in the Western pulpit as Henry Clay filled on the political stump, took mighty hold on his whole nature.

His awakening culminated in a suggestive manner. Even the greatest men are converted through the heart. Cowper was convinced of sin by stumbling over an exhumed skull in Westminster yard. Martin Luther was shaken with conviction by bereavement, sickness, and lightning. Wyclif's conversion was hastened by the plague's approach. Thomson, alone in his office, saw a friend instantly killed by a falling beam of timber. He fell on his knees. God gave him a new heart. His conversion was so thorough as to sweep the scent of tobacco from his breath and tainted speech from his lips. The Holy Spirit led him into the ministry, using largely the advice of his pastor, the talented but eccentric Harry O. Sheldon. Here is his own description of its beginnings :

I made my trial of the itinerancy, accompanying the preacher on one side of the circuit, and the assistant on the other. It was spring-time, and never did dew-drops seem so pure or dawn so holy. Here I first learned to study the Bible by the rising sun, and kneel alone in the solemn forest under his setting beams. Sweet counsel did we take by the road-side and at the hearthstone, to where a generous hospitality made every comfort free as the mountain spring.

Going with moistened eyes from the thicket, our hearts often cheered us, as when we approached the cabin or school-house or the barn we heard the waiting congregation singing,

"Jesus, my all, to heaven is gone."

Entering, saddlebags in hand, we often felt a new commission as we drew forth the pocket Bible and preached the unsearchable riches of Christ on puncheon floors or on the green grass, while the sinner cried as his heart was touched, the penitent rose happy as the bird when it follows the sunbeam over the hills after the morning shower, and the saints made the forests, as they retired to their homes, ring with halleluiyahs.

But I saw afterward its shades as well as its lights—sometimes kindly received, sometimes bluntly ; now shivering through the night, now nearly smothered between two feather-beds ; now sinking to quiet slumbers in the rich man's down, now stung through the night by mosquitoes in the poor man's milk-house. I received seventy-five dollars for my first year's labor, and shortly after gave fifty dollars to the first Methodist seminary in Ohio.

Here he touches his greatest life-work. His coming, how timely ! The great Republic, now numbering fifty millions, was then educationally crude. The few who had brought collegiate traditions from Europe had passed away from the West.

Harvard and Yale were too remote to attract the sons of our log-cabins. The ax and the plow were awaking the soil. The stage-coach and canal were beginning to carry a dawning commerce. Our sturdy Methodism cared little for education while the forest was in the way. There was great danger of a stolid, stupid, or avaricious nation; danger of a Church unarmed for the intellectual strifes floating from Europe, and the hordes of heathenism certain to come as a cloud from across the Pacific, or the unbelief sure to spring up in our midst.

At the critical time came Edward Thomson, prepared, none can tell how, but endowed and fairly inspired to fill this divine call. His inaugural address at the opening of the Ohio Wesleyan University thrilled along the lines of the Church as a bugle-blast. It found, as many can still testify, hundreds of youth ambitious but aimless. Henceforth there were before them new worlds to conquer. There is something in its pictures, and chiefly in that of the graduation of the widow's son, irresistible to any with a spark of true enthusiasm. That lecture will vie with the glorious spring on the campus in value as a cause of existence of the University. Whoever finds a youth aimless, but of good parts, can hardly find a better way to start him up a shining track than to induce him to read that, or any other of Thomson's Educational Essays.

He displayed a genius for scholarship. It is said he could, without apparent preparation, conduct a recitation at a moment's notice in any department. But his chief power was in stirring the mind as a lecturer. He could infix a philosophy for life by a paragraph. He would reverse the soul's course by a sentence of comment, a mode of reading the chapel lesson, or his beautiful and heavenward prayers. His preaching was logical and lucid. The judgment was satisfied. But conviction was wrought by his personality, which winnowed the conscience and made visible the impassable gulf. Unconsciously he has described himself in one of his lectures, in a passage more than once quoted, even without credit, by famous men.

The Christian rises side by side with the philosopher into the starry heavens. They tread foot to foot the zodiac round. Together their souls expand and burn, and wonder and adore; and here the Christian bows to his learned companion and leaves him

in the milky way, and on the wings of faith ascends to the upper skies, enters the paradise of God, soars through fields of light, and surveys the mansions of the blest. He mingles with the blood-washed throng, and repeats their halleluiahs. He bows at the altars where saints perfected worship, and enters the chapels where angels sing. He soars to the heaven of heavens, sees God the Father, Jesus his Son, and God the Holy Spirit; and, lifting his eyes upward, he cries, This is thy throne, dear Father, and these are my native skies.

A citizen of the world and a brother of mankind, nothing good or true in the race was foreign to him. His own description of a visit to Westminster Abbey affords an illustration. While moving amid its statuary and grandeur, the bell called to worship. He sat down on one of the plain forms. One would imagine, from his having grown amid the simplicity of western Methodism, that he was out of sympathy with his surroundings; but his soul was too great for that. He says:

The gorgeous building, the solemn associations, the monuments of the dead, the multitude of the living, the chanting of the choir, the notes of the organ, the grand current of liturgical thought, on which my soul was willingly borne, were too much for me. I seemed to sit in the mouth of the world's sepulcher, while the reanimated dead were chanting themselves up to the resurrection morning. The tears stole down my cheeks, and but for a strong effort of will I might have fainted.

Who that has ever felt the solemn stillness and grandeur of that Valhalla of England's greatness, and then sought amid the best utterances of her most gifted sons for adequate descriptions, has ever found a sentence so deep in feeling and so comprehensive of grasp as this, from the small, humble, western minister? I know of none. Yet it was but a passage for a newspaper letter. So, too, was his description of that cosmopolitan wonder and symbol of England's greatness, the British Museum; while his "London Tower" surpasses in historic grasp and rhythm of diction that of Macaulay. Read his "Tunnel of the Thames," or his "Tomb of the Taj," and he will astound you with strange nomenclature, overwhelm you with mathematics, startle you with their significance, and charm you with his simple rhetoric, while the wonder is how this small, abstract man, partly deaf, whose overcoat the thief would steal, and who often lost his railway ticket, could find out what old travelers never knew.

This breadth of nature included the extremes of humanity. Peter Cartwright was as distant from Edward Thomson as men can be to belong to the kingdom of heaven together. But when the fiftieth anniversary of Cartwright's ministry came round, Thomson was his admired guest, and no words spoken there were so adequate as a tribute to that sturdy son of thunder as were his. It was like lightning playing about a granite peak. Himself has said :

Dean Swift declares : "I hate mankind, though I love a few individuals, as Peter, James, and John." Pope replied: "I love human nature, but hate individuals." Warburton: "We must have grace not to hate both." We have no sympathy with such philosophers, but admitting all mankind to a participation in our blessings, we learn to respect and love all; as General Taylor says, "The world and the *rest of mankind*."

Though so broad in sympathy, he was not too vague to be a *patriot*, a quality ever impressed upon his students. In his times the Supervisor was wont to come with his summons to students' rooms, warning them to work out their road-tax—it was difficult to decide whether in earnest or in jest; but the students mostly took the latter view. The president's appeal to young patriotism, on one occasion, made it dreadfully uncomfortable, and—tell it not in Gath—some actually shouldered the mattock and the spade.

It may relieve us from the ceaseless strain of eulogy to turn to the single case found against him in all our researches. In the old Minutes of the Michigan Conference is the following record :

*Tiffin, Ohio, Sept. 11, 1838.—Whereas*, There has been, and still is, much excitement in the Methodist Episcopal Church on the subject of abolitionism; and, *whereas*, we believe such excitement is prejudicial to the interests of the Church; therefore, *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the members of this Conference to refrain from agitating the subject by forming abolition societies in or out of the Church, or by attending Methodist abolition conventions. . . . And preachers who do should be dealt with accordingly.

Signed,                    HENRY COLCLAZER,  
                                  E. THOMSON.

Bishop Waugh was in the chair. E. Thomson was Secretary. This record was, at first, astounding, and contrasts strangely with the assertion in College Chapel, in after years, that he would not obey the fugitive slave law, but suffer its

sorest penalty whenever summoned ; and with his almost super-human arraignment before the General Conference and elsewhere of this " sum of all villainies."

This record recalls other facts. Wiclif was at the start an incipient monk. John Knox began as a priest. John Wesley narrowly escaped asceticism. Edward Thomson was a conservative. The best minds are conservative toward men when most radical concerning right. The agitator is often the gentlest of men personally, and the grip of iron has a womanly tenderness. The Druids' rock stood against a hundred men, but rocked at a child's touch.

The days of that minute were days of confusion. (Another is found there against ministers swapping horses.) Two ideas were intertwined. They separated, parted, and met at last at Appomattox at opposite ends of a sword surrendered over a "lost cause"—a cause turned under by the plowshare of war.

Thomson had a filial heart. "Lay me down," said he, "when I die, where I may see my mother's face." Once that mother came down to Delaware, and the "Immortal Doctor" could be seen with her leaning on his arm, bearing her proudly about the campus as if that plain, good woman were a queen. No doubt many a toiling mother was happier the next vacation and through life for that example in the ideal man. Garfield's lips touched his mother's brow on inauguration day, and it was heard the world round. When our college president made glad his mother's heart before the sons, it set the widow's heart in tune for a generation.

His fondness for home, wife, and children was tender, delicate, and charming. A wood-saw was glorified in my eyes after seeing one in his hands driven through a billet of oak. Grief has never appeared unmanly in the light of his example. Four of his students carried as tenderly as could be the dust of his first-born to rest. Dr. Greeley, the pastor, with Irish brogue and delicate tact, quoted the language of Otway Curry, friend and companion spirit of Thomson, of whom he wrote an appreciative memento :

" When through the nameless ages  
I cast my longing eyes,  
Before me, like a boundless sea,  
The great hereafter lies."

This reappears in one of his volumes, thus :

Time may allay your feelings, but you will go in the bitterness of your soul all your years; and when your dying eye is closed, you will open your mental eye in the eternal world and say, "O, my daughter, where art thou ?"

When leaving his home in Evanston on his last journey, he returned a distance of a hundred miles. For this his only explanation was, that he might get a better good-bye. It reminds us of Bishop Gilbert Haven, whose great heart, consumed with longings in the heat of battle, said : "When I go to heaven I will lay my head to rest in my wife's lap for a thousand years."

He had a merry heart. His wit and humor were as sparkling as his oratory was brilliant. When abroad to purchase a library for the University, it was at a time when Americans were less known and more often snubbed than now, especially by Englishmen. One of them questioned our having any mineral resources. Thomson replied :

"We have a mine called the Illinois Coal-bed, running through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. We shall scoop out a little, and if you will bring your island over and put it in, so annex you."

"You have but little machinery ?"

"*Machinery?* We have all you have, and one which is run by force of circumstances."

"What is that ?"

"One such machine is now talking to you."

"You have no nobility in America."

Thomson drew up his five feet five of slight manhood to its full height, and with his profoundest bow, replied :

"You are now conversing with one of the royal family of the United States of America."

This readiness became at times a terrible weapon. Woe be to the college rebel whom it smote ! Like as the stroke of the blade of fable, off came his head, he knew not how.

He was no jocular monopolist. He relished the wit of others, and it took its place in his mental store-house, ready for orders. With keenest zest he reported the Irishman's retort, who was showing him the skull of Saint Peter. Having seen one in Rome, he asked Mike to explain the difference in size. "O, your reverence, this is his skull when but a boy."

He could laugh at himself, and on account of his frequent abstraction was sometimes a fine subject. It is said, that on leaving the recitation room he has been known to put his hat under his arm and his book on his head. I saw him at my fireside ready to go and deliver his great Centennial Sermon. One foot was dressed in a stocking and shoe, the other with only the shoe, and low cut at that. But for his wife, our angel had gone half barefoot that day. It is said his wife, taking his arm to return from church, was assured that her "face was familiar, but he could not recall her name."

His abstractions were never vexatious. His politeness was genuine and perennial. You forgave him though he failed to recognize you, because certain he meant no disrespect. So universal was his politeness, that it was a college saying that he bade the cows each a polite good-morning as he passed them in the street.

*His nature was magnetic.* This was "personal," but of an order higher and wider than usually belongs to that quality. Napoleon never imbued men with his military heroism more fully than Thomson transfused his magnetic intellectual and moral qualities into young men. It was well-nigh universal and irresistible. In "anti-Nebraska" days, the clergy of New England petitioned Congress against the encroachment of slavery. Thomson seized the occasion to give a Sunday lecture on "The Pulpit and Politics." The students called for it in pamphlet form. The "Ohio Statesman," published at Columbus, made a fierce attack on the lecture and its author. Two literary societies had invited the editor, S. S. Cox, to deliver the address before them at the approaching Commencement. The attack aroused them. After two sessions, lasting till midnight, they rescinded the invitation. The eloquent and adroit Cox would have found it dangerous to touch the man of whom, in those heated sessions, an alumnus who came in to share the strife, said: "We will never brook the slightest affront to that man, who is as meek as Moses and as eloquent as Paul."

He belonged to an order of educators who come seldom, such as Arnold of Rugby, Wilbur Fisk, Mark Hopkins, but he was more brilliant and magnetic than any. Garfield said, "Give me a bench. Let Dr. Hopkins sit on one end and me on the

other, and I ask for no better university." Such was Thomson without the bench, for the bench would come to him, and the students crowd it. It was a rare faculty round him in those brave days of old,—smaller and less equipped than now, but harmonious and compact as a chariot-wheel,—in its unity furnishing by far the best factor of a college; aggregating a magnificent combination of ideal manhood. As its head, he was leader of an intellectual host. We should never have sacrificed him until our educational Israel had learned in him to discriminate between a college *drummer* and a college *president*.

By reason of splendid management since his time, the Ohio Wesleyan University is not hard to find. But as men long inquired, not so much for Williams as Hopkins, not for Yale but Woolsey, and now Princeton is better seen by the towering head of M'Cosh, so, had his life been spent here, must this intellectual Mecca have been called after Thomson.

Men come in corps. In Florence, came together Ghirlan-dajo, Leonardo, and Michael Angelo. In England, came near together Milton, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Addison, Butler. In Germany, Kant, Lessing, Neander, Goethe, Schiller. In the same age and rank Coleridge, Campbell, Carlyle, Cuvier, Legendre, Laplace. Was it not God's design to give a corps of kindred minds to Thomson's times? Is there no Rachel's voice "weeping for her children *because they are not?*"

Is there no exaggeration of the importance of our episcopal miter? Have we not used it again and again, as the French use the guillotine, to behead colleges? Let us hope the folly so conspicuous in Thomson's case may sober us into harmony not only with the new "rubric," but the whole genius of our Church. Bishop timber is abundant. Trees for such college presidents grow one or two in a century.

Edward Thomson was a brilliant ornament to the episcopacy in some of its best functions. His heroism was Pauline. His prudence cared for every interest but his own. But his Oriental tour killed him. While on the Indian Ocean he inhaled the infected air of an opium vessel. Before that, while on the Red Sea—he related it with pathetic humor—he made up his mind to "join Pharaoh and his host." The two volumes written from his journal kept on that tour have an undertone of sad weariness. When he reaches Dr. Maclay's

home in China, it is, as he says, "weary, wan, and ghost-like, twenty thousand miles from home." He "leans his head against the wall, and silent tears steal down his wan cheeks."

Too ill to see the Holy Land, he "sails by the shore with unspeakable sorrow." At Constantinople he can only "look from his sick pillow at its minarets," though even then he pens lines which forecast the future of Europe, and the fate of the false faiths of the East. True, he came home again, while the sturdy Kingsley laid him down to sleep at Lebanon's base, and Haven, with all his ruddy bloom, fell at last of African fever. Yet Thomson only occasionally burst into the blaze of his former splendors. The "iron wheel" was too much for his texture, as it threw him round a circuit that year of forty thousand miles, he meanwhile attempting to regulate its power, so affecting to itinerant families and churches, for all of whom he suffered much, vicariously. It was too ponderous for his fine nature. It was like an angel at a drive-wheel. God gives us men to whose touch it answers with mighty rhythm. But reverence did not check Ezekiel's cry when he saw the wheel of vision. As we look on Thomson, and then on what racked him, we too can but cry, "O, wheel!" When he died, there seemed a tone of self-reproach in the sorrow of the Church. It was fit there should be heart-searching. All felt the force of that fine lament of one of his successors, when he cried, "We ne'er shall see his like again!"

We here touch the inscrutable. His powers may find better play in the unseen world than here; but heaven is rich, and earth would seem to be too poor to rob herself so soon.

As author, his career was more largely potential than actual. A cutting shows the grain of a gem. Pollok's "Course of Time," Kirk White's "Star of Bethlehem," Thomson's "Close Thought," are such cuttings. What if his life had not been deflected from its course till now! Addison nor Irving ever wrote a purer English, and both with less force and fire. Count the monosyllables in one of his pages, and it is doubtful if you will find so many on any other outside the New Testament. Why are his essays not more in the hands of our youth? Is it because they bear our denominational imprint? It is something that duplicate copies of his writings must be kept in the library of the Ohio Wesleyan University to supply the demand

of readers, and that they must be oftener rebound than any other volumes in the collection.

He had great versatility. He delivered two lectures before the California Conference some years ago. Men who had lived for a dozen years on the Pacific slope were amazed at the wonders of their country never before thought of. The attention of scholars and civil officers was arrested by their accuracy. How he prepared them, no one knew; the only account his wife could give was, that "they were composed while riding over the plains and mountains in the stage-coach."

At Constantinople, too ill to go ashore, he wrote a chapter, ten years in advance, depicting the outcome as it occurred at the Berlin Congress under the dictation of Bismarck and Disraeli.

There are no so-called poems from his pen. But the blood of the English poet Thomson ran in his veins, and diffused a poetic fire through his prose. A friend watched by his bed during a fever. One night he dreamed of controversy with an angel, who arraigned our race for meanness. Thomson, as spokesman, answered in verse, some of which he repeated when awake. One stanza ran thus:

"I am too an angel made,  
And round this head a sphere is laid  
Which is not less than heaven."

There is no volume from him on *systematic divinity*, unless there be among his unpublished writings. But his lectures on "Evidences" show that he had power to answer *skepticism* and to *fascinate* into faith with his subtle reason and clear diction. He never wrote out an elaborate argument after the manner of "Butler's Analogy." But the boys often longed for a "translation of Butler by Thomson." Had he turned his hand to such work as a "History of Rationalism," so charmingly accomplished by another mitered college head, he could have made that track blaze. Had he entered the field where Raymond has gone shining through, or where Cocker's stalwart form has marched, there too he could have excelled. His intellect was at home with such minds as Kant, Sir William Hamilton, and Plato. They did not go beyond his depth nor above his flight. And if there be any finer quality to such minds as Emerson, Carlyle, and Goethe, he could look them in the eye even

measure, for rather to that rank was he born. At times the trend of his thought, the far sweep of his vision, and the track of light on which he leaves our lower heavens, suggest the question, which of the prophets had he been if he had lived in Bible times—Elijah, Paul, or John?

When fifty years of age he was called from his presidency, and his studies amid academic scenes, to sit four years on a tripod, like an angel tending a spit. Six years more he went round with the great “wheel.” Fifty and four and six are sixty. Then he left us for the upper skies fourteen years ago.

It is four and thirty years since the current of his life was turned. His associates in the faculty are all still alive. The world is growing richer from their ripened wisdom. What if Thomson had been here to fulfill the promise of his early years during this quarter century? Within that time of life most great men do their best for the world. Before his great career began, the Duke of Marlborough had come to an age when most men retire. But that finished the dread of the French armies and of Louis XIV. at Blenheim. Von Moltke went into Paris to see the final downfall of the Napoleons behind a white beard. Michael Angelo spanned St. Peter's with its heaven-like dome after his eightieth year. Within the same last stage of life Asbury, Wesley, Humboldt, Herschel, Grotius, Dorner, Neander, Bryant, Emerson, and Longfellow have given their golden harvest to the world. The last named, with genius enriched by years, has well sung:

“Nothing is too late  
Till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate.  
Cato learned Greek at eighty,  
Sophocles wrote his grand *OEdipus*,  
And Simonides bore off the prize of verse from his compeers,  
When each had numbered more than fourscore years.  
And Theophrastes at fourscore and ten  
Had but begun his characters of men.  
Chaucer at Woodstock, with the nightingales,  
At sixty wrote the *Canterbury Tales*.  
Goethe at Weimar, toiling to the last,  
Completed *Faust* when eighty years were past.”

When men cross voluntarily an imaginary “dead line,” it partakes of cowardice or suicide. When we *send* them over, it is murder. Let us have no dead line, which God never drew!

The last catastrophe had been coming on since the sickness

on the Red Sea. Never did the pallor, which then settled on his face, leave it. Too self-forgetful and too considerate of others, his weakness revealed itself only to his intimates. In the spring of 1870 he left his home in Evanston to attend the Kentucky and Virginia Conferences. On the steamer for Wheeling he was taken with a chill. He was promptly removed from the boat to the Grant House. The proprietors and alarmed friends did all that was possible to rescue his life and then to solace his dying. He rapidly sank, and after five days died, ere his family, alarmed by a telegram, could reach him. It is said that a telegram was delayed, by his desire, to keep the Sabbath day holy.

The remains were carried to Delaware and laid in the church where his eloquence and sanctity had done so much to awaken the young university into life. Friends and faculty, students and citizens, were one in their grief. Among others came the blacks in groups, mournfully and softly, looking into the beautiful classic features of him whose lips had so eloquently pleaded the cause of their race.

A year later this writer, a transient guest at the Grant House, Wheeling, was assigned the room in which he died. Here were the walls which heard his dying words. Here was the Bible from which, by his request, were read to him those words: "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death." Here were realized the words of his poet friend Curry, so dear to him:

"In the far-off haven,  
When shadowy seas are past,  
By angel hands its quivering sails  
Shall all be furled at last."

Shortly before him Kingsley had gone from the foot of Lebanon in a foreign land—each from a stranger's couch. And not very long afterward the last survivor of the three together chosen and consecrated to the episcopacy, Dr. Clark, was united with his colleagues in the "general assembly and church of the first-born." They were lovely in life, and in their death they were not long divided.

## ART. II.—THE FRANCO-CHINESE IMBROGLIO.

*Tonkin*; or, "France in the Far East." By C. B. NORMAN, late Captain Bengal Staff Corps and 90th Light Infantry. London: Chapman & Hall. 1884.

*Tungking*. By WILLIAM MESNY, Major-General in the Imperial Chinese Army. London: Sampson, Low & Co. 1884.

*Les Français au Tonkin, 1787-1883*. Hippolyte Gautier. Paris: Challamel Aîné. 1884.

FRANCE and China are not, geographically, more antipodal on the surface of the round world than are the first and third of the volumes above enumerated. The French view is, of course, rose-colored; the British green, with more than occasional ebullitions of national spite and jealousy. Both volumes cover the hundred years of French negotiations and occupation in Further India. Recent events have called the attention of the world to this remote and hitherto obscure quarter of the globe. In his Preface, written at the close of 1883, Captain Norman says: "Within the last few months France has been deluged by a shower of books bearing on the Tonkin question." After having "perused almost every scrap of writing that has appeared on the subject," the captain has embodied, in a volume of three hundred and fifty pages, the "true history of the Tonkin question," and, that he "may not be accused of garbled translations," has given the "actual text of all his authorities," making his book about one fourth French, in dress, thereby improving its quality with those who understand the Gallic tongue, but lessening its value with all other readers.

As we write, no work has yet appeared on the Tonkin matter in this hemisphere, and only straggling copies of those published abroad have found their way to our book-stores and public libraries. Paragraphs in news columns, of telegraphic brevity, have chronicled the movements of the French navy in the waters of the far East; and it has been known, as part of the current intelligence of the times, that France had dispute and conflict with some semi-civilized Asiatic tribes, but exactly what, or where, has been of too little interest to excite special curiosity or to enlist sustained attention. In August last the thunders of a naval bombardment that annihilated one fourth of the floating armament of China in ten minutes, in front of the arsenal in the river Min, aroused a general inquiry as to

what all this noise and fire and destructive demonstration was about. We propose to answer this question by drawing freely from the works named above, and adding thereto items of personal knowledge of the situation in the East, and information gathered from all available quarters.

The strife, an old and chronic one among the nations, had for its origin rivalry in a "land-grab." Let us first repair to the territory in dispute. A glance at the map of Asia shows that that mighty continent terminates on the south in three immense peninsulas intruding far into the Indian Ocean, Arabia on the west, Hindostan in the center, Indo-China on the east, supplemented by the long finger-like projection called Malacca, at the lower extremity of which is the British colony of Singapore. Indo-China has three grand divisions, Burmah and Siam on the west, and Annam, bordering on the Gulf of Tonkin, on the east. This Annam, as the French write it (Ang Nang in Chinese), more properly, ANNAN, is the land in dispute, a strip or tract with a coast-length, north and south, of a thousand miles, and an average width of two hundred, an area of two hundred thousand square miles, and a population vaguely estimated from nine to twenty-seven millions.

The empire of Annan has three political divisions—Lower or French Cochin China, embracing a portion of Camboja on the south; Cochin China or Annan proper in the central coast region; and Tonkin, the large, populous, V-shaped, alluvial delta of the Red River and its branches: a province, with thirteen subdivisions, whose northern boundary coincides with the southern boundary of China, having the same topographical relation to China that Mexico has to the United States. Ignorance of the Chinese language permits Norman to blunder in the outset, when he says: "Tonkin, as its name implies, is the northern portion of the realm." Mesny writes more correctly, "Tungking is Chinese, and means eastern capital," as Peking means northern capital, and Nanking southern capital. Tungking is also the proper orthography, printed Tonquin in old geographies, and in the modern, Tonkin. It is this fine region, inhabited by a teeming population, similar in most regards to the Chinese, covered with a net-work of canals and rivers, abounding in fruitful lowlands and uplands, fertile fields and magnificent forests, rich in mineral wealth and every

variety of tropical production that the French covet, not more for its own sake than because it affords, through navigable streams, promising routes of access to the immense inland provinces of south-western China, shut out, hitherto, from the commerce that prospers and rejoices the more favored maritime coasts of the Chinese empire.

But why are France and China quarreling about Annan? What right has either power to this independent territory? Simply that right of the stronger which has made the nations of the earth land-robbers from the earliest times; the same right that gave ancient Israel the land of Canaan, the right of conquest; the right that makes futile the assumption of Prince Kung, in a state dispatch, that "each nation has a right to guard and protect its own territory by any means that it alone deems best." Annan, the weaker power, has made China, the stronger, its ally and defender for a long period. In an interview with Prince Kung in 1870, Hon. William H. Seward asked: "Is the Annanite empire still tributary to China?" "It still continues to send tribute," was the reply. Norman says: "There is abundant evidence that until the year 1427 Annan was an outlying province of the Chinese empire," when, by a successful rebellion, it achieved partial independence, subject only to pay triennial tribute to the emperor, each new sovereign being required to recognize the rights of the court of Peking on ascending the throne. Other rebellions followed, but the general relation remained the same, and has so continued to the present time.

General Mesny commences his *brochure* of a hundred and fifty pages where Washington Irving begins his "History of New York," at the mythical forty-five hundred years ago. The first mention of the court of Annan sending tribute to the court of China occurred eleven hundred years before Christ, "cockatoos, peacocks, and ivory." Two hundred years before our era, the first emperor of China proper, the "Napoleon" who built the great wall, burnt the sacred books, and destroyed ancient feudalism, subjugated the Annanites. From that time to the present Annan has had a history. Mesny traces it through fifteen chapters, part of a book which he contemplates publishing: "The Chinese Empire." It is foreign to our purpose to reproduce it here. In 1790, the reigning king of

Annan visited Peking, and was feasted and entertained royally. Two years later he died, and his son, a youth of fifteen, ascended the throne. The accession of a minor was the signal for revolt, in which the rebel claimant of the throne is said by Chinese historians to have been "supported by a band of barbarian pirates"—"probably French and Spaniards," says Messny, who assisted the usurper to gain the throne. The young king appealed to China for aid against this pirate horde; and the emperor "ordered his officials to keep a sharp watch over these hostile vessels, and to defend the coasts of China by a powerful fleet."

European adventurers followed Vasco de Gama around Good Hope and penetrated to every part of the East Indies. Two centuries ago English merchants established a factory, that is, a residence for commercial agents, in Tonkin. Dutch and Portuguese continued the trade after the English, owing to local difficulties, had retired. French and Spanish missionaries were early in the field, and so successful that half a million of converts to Christianity were claimed in the peninsula as early as 1774.

Modern French diplomacy in this region begins with the date on the title-page of M. Gautier's book, 1787, when a French Jesuit priest, missionary bishop at Bangkok, induced an exiled king of Annan to apply to Paris for aid. Louis XVI. gave willing ear to the project of opening, by treaty, a commercial highway into Central China. The French Revolution followed, and the government could do nothing; but "a number of soldiers of fortune accompanied the Jesuit bishop on his return to the East, and, in 1789, he landed in Cochin-China at the head of a well-armed and fairly disciplined force. The semi-civilized hordes went down like grass before western troops," and the dethroned monarch regained his kingdom by their aid. Till his death, in 1820, French missions flourished and French officers were in favor. His successor, a younger son, hated foreigners, and bitterly persecuted both native Christians and foreign missionaries. In 1840 he died, and his successor pursued the same system of cruel persecution that his father had carried on. Several missionaries were killed, and several thrown into prison. In January, 1843, a French frigate anchored near the capital, and demanded the release of

the captive missionaries. They were released. The threats of a brace of frigates in 1847 procured another temporary mitigation; but no sooner had the squadron sailed away than the king recommenced his barbarities, which he kept up until his death, in 1848. His successor, Tu Due, who died last year, proved a very Rehoboam, practically saying, "My father chastised you with whips, I will chastise you with scorpions." He instituted a war of extermination, and offered large rewards for the heads of European priests, and lesser sums for native Christian converts. Between 1851 and 1858 ten French missionaries were beheaded! In August of the latter year the emperor Napoleon III. dispatched an expedition to enforce toleration in Annan. In 1859 Saigon was bombarded and forced to surrender. The war by England and France with China, in 1860, suspended operations in Annan. No sooner was it closed, with the capture of Peking by the allies, than the French, flushed with recent successes in China and the Crimea, returned to make thorough work in Annan. In February, 1861, Admiral Charnier, with strong re-enforcements, appeared before Saigon, situated on a river of the same name, about twenty-five miles from the sea. Its capture was easily effected, and the Annanites were driven out of all their intrenchments in that and the adjacent provinces, so that on June 5, 1862, a second treaty of peace was signed between France and Annan. Of this, as well as the first, Norman gives the full text in French, occupying several pages of his book. The second article stipulated perfect freedom of worship; the third, that three entire provinces should be ceded to his majesty the emperor of the French, with the free navigation of the Camboja River and all its branches. By article eighth the king of Annan was bound to pay an indemnity of four million dollars to the representative of the French emperor at Saigon, to repay the expenses of the war incurred on the part of France.

Persecution ceased, but missionaries were forbidden to build churches, to open schools, or to preach openly, and were excluded from official stations in the Annanite government. Moreover, the king was suspected of stirring up enmity in the southern provinces; and, to put an end to this annoyance, Admiral Grandier, in 1867, occupied three additional provinces, comprising in all 21,000 square miles, a territory half as large

as the State of New York, with a million and a half of inhabitants. The king, exasperated, appealed to China for help to drive the monopolizing barbarians beyond the sea. The monopolizing barbarians would not be so driven, but began instead to cast longing eyes toward the northern limb of Tu Duc's already dismembered empire, when the war with Germany, in 1870, a second time suspended operations in the East. In 1872 these operations were renewed, and a pretext was found for French intervention in the pirates that infested the northern waters of the realm. These the Chinese and Annanite forces combined to repress, peremptorily declining the proffered assistance of the French. Nevertheless, Captain Senez, of the frigate "Bourayne," appeared before Touraine, announcing to the Annanite king his intention of visiting Tonkin and demanding the aid of the court in suppressing piracy. Starting for the mouth of the Red River without further ceremony, Senez destroyed several junks, assuming them to be piratical, steamed up the river, and finally (November 6) reached Hanoi, the capital of Tonkin, on the right bank of the stream, seventy or eighty miles from the sea. Here this filibustering French captain threatened to attack the citadel with a boat's crew of fifteen men. After some not remarkably creditable adventures he dropped down to the mouth of the river, and found there a small French flotilla, a half-mercantile, half-filibustering expedition, sent from Saigon, "with which," says Norman, "its leaders meant to force French trade down the throats of the people of Tonkin, much in the same way as Admiral Lapierre had supported the missionaries by the bombshells of his squadron."

The leader of this new invading force was a Frenchman by the name of Dupuis, who had contracted to supply cargoes of foreign arms to the western Chinese mandarins to enable them to crush out the Mohammedan rebellion in the province of Yunnan. An overland trip had satisfied the adventurous Frenchman that the Red River could be traversed at least two hundred miles of the distance between Hanoi and Yunnan by boats of light draught, and here he was, with his fleet, negotiating, by the aid of Captain Senez, for passage up the river to the Tonkinese capital, determined to ascend, under French colors if he could; if not, under the yellow flag of China itself.

The audacious impudence of these self-constituted country-openers was unbounded. Its animating spirit appears in a letter addressed by Senez to the Annanite mandarins. Dupuis's expedition was, with Senez, the materialization of a French idea. The government of Hué must no longer persist in isolating itself from "civilization." To-day it is Dupuis, to-morrow it may be somebody else, but all, and always, France will come to demand, in the name of "progress and civilization," liberty to travel and traffic. "All resistance, believe me, will be vain. Forts, cannon, tariffs [*barrages*], will henceforth be powerless to resist the incoming 'invasion of civilization' now directed toward Annan."

The authorities were inexorable in their refusal to sanction the violation of the treaty, and Senez reluctantly left Dupuis to make his own way up the forbidden river, which he accomplished by cool assurance, and anchored unmolested before Hanoi on December 22. Transferring his cargo of arms to junks of light draught, the hardy adventurer, leaving his steamers and a hundred and fifty men off Hanoi, started on the final stage of his daring voyage. On the 30th of April, loading his junks with copper and tin from the mines, he commenced his return, and a week later reached Hanoi. His next step was to occupy a fortified position on shore; the third, to load a flotilla of junks with salt, a government monopoly, and send it, duty free, up the river! This was too much. A mandarin of high rank was dispatched to Hanoi with orders to drive Dupuis out of the country. Large bodies of armed men were assembled, and barriers constructed on the stream to cut off the retreat of the squadron. Nothing but audacity could save the French. Dupuis was equal to the emergency. He ran up the tricolor, and sent his mate to Saigon for help.

The king also sent an embassy to Saigon demanding the assistance of the French admiral in compelling Dupuis to withdraw from the Red River, as his presence there was a distinct infringement of treaty rights. Admiral Dupré owned that the presence of the French ships in the Red River was a violation of the treaty, and yet an exultant telegram went to Paris:

Tonkin open, through the enterprise of Dupuis! Immense effect on commerce, English, French, American! Absolute

necessity to occupy Tonkin in advance of the double invasion threatened by Europeans and Chinese! It is ours to make sure of this unequalled route!

Permission came to dispatch a force to Hanoi, and the admiral wrote to Francis Garnier, at Shanghai, to join his expedition at once. Garnier was an enthusiast in the idea of opening up China to foreign trade. This enterprising young Frenchman, like his fellow-countryman Dupuis, had made a famous overland exploring expedition through the back or inland provinces of China, and written about it, and he fell in at once with the project of Dupré and Dupuis to get the Chinese out of the valley of the Red River, and to annex Tonkin to France. Norman devotes fifty pages of his book to a picturesque account of this naval, military, semi-political, semi-philanthropic, and clearly piratical expedition. I must condense his dramatic narrative here as much as possible.

While officially restricting their mission to the business of settling the dispute between Dupuis and the rulers at Hanoi, Dupré and Garnier evidently intended to act on a much wider scale. Garnier consults the French minister at Peking on the best means of preventing Tonkin from falling into the hands of the English, and, at the same time, writes enthusiastically to a friend :

I want to see a French garrison in Tonkin and a railroad connecting Yunnan with the Red River. The English will never get over that! I feel that if I am supported, Indo-China is French.

Presuming that the English were scheming to get at the back provinces of China by the way of Burmah, Garnier throws heart and soul into the counter-work of reaching them by the way of the Red River.

In order to understand the dash and gallantry of this brave man it will be advisable to dwell on the composition of his command, amounting in the whole to less than two hundred men.... Two small gun-boats were to be towed to the mouth of the Red River by corvettes, where a detachment of infantry of marine were to join them, and twenty gunners. . . . With this petty force did Garnier contemplate the subjugation of Tonkin.

We omit his letters and proclamations. Fortified and re-enforced by the arrival of other gun boats, Garnier formally warned the governor of Hanoi that he must submit to accept

the terms of a commercial treaty which he dictated : 1. Opening the Red River to commerce from Nov. 15, 1873 ; 2. Exclusive navigation by Chinese and French vessels ; 3, 4, and 5. Regulation of customs. His terms were not complied with, and on the 20th of November, at day-break, he stormed the citadel. It is the old story of civilized and savage warfare.

The Annanites, unaccustomed to artillery fire, and hitherto ignorant of the terrible effect of shells, took to flight, and soon the rice-fields were covered with fugitives, among whom the long-range cannon worked terrible havoc. By eight o'clock the French colors were hoisted on the citadel, which, with the town, was entirely deserted, and the utmost quiet reigned.

Before the end of the month the whole delta was in his hands. It was easier to achieve than to keep. Garrisoning the principal forts that maintained communication between Hanoi and the sea weakened his own force, and the enemy gathered in swarms. "On the 21st of December the storm burst. Chinese, Black Flags, and Annanites appeared on the Sontay road." Fire from the brave defenders of the citadel checked the advance for awhile. A sortie to drive back the masses of the enemy was successful for a brief space, but Garnier and his lieutenant, Balny, ventured too far from the fort (some two miles), and both fell at the head of their columns, which were thrown into confusion and retreat by the death of their leaders. The Chinese, contented with the heads of the two French officers as trophies, returned to Sontay in exulting triumph!

Admiral Dupré was not prepared to initiate war between France and China by indorsing these precipitate acts of the daring Garnier. M. Philastre, a diplomatist, was sent from Saigon to Hué, and on the 3d of January, 1874, reached Hanoi, withdrew the garrisons, and commenced negotiations with the Annanite government for a new treaty, which was made and ratified in August following. The French text of this document occupies eight pages of Norman. It opened the Red River to commerce, opened three new ports, allowed the French to locate consuls at these ports, with a military escort, and gave those consuls jurisdiction over all foreigners in Annan, with power to refuse permission to Europeans to settle in the country. A French Resident was to make his head-quarters at the capital, Hué,

and the customs service was to be in the hands of French officials. Norman notes that under the treaty of commerce, during the first eighteen months, not a single French merchant ship entered the Red River. Eleven English, six German, and a hundred and sixteen Chinese were all that availed themselves of the new route to western China, that, according to Garnier, was to revolutionize oriental trade. Admiral Dupré, governor of Cochin China, insisted on the necessity of explaining to China the new position occupied by France toward Annan. The French ministry refused for prudential reasons, and Dupré resigned rather than be party to a violation of the treaty. Philastre and Dupré were men of honor. Dupré's successor arrived at Saigon in 1878, armed with power either to strengthen himself in the Red River country or to withdraw altogether from Tonkin, if he thought the alliance was producing mischief in straining the patience of the Chinese government. Meanwhile the king of Annan, in open disregard of the exclusive French suzerainty, prepared and sent out the usual tribute-bearing embassy to Peking, under a salute of guns from the fortress, and under the very eyes of a French consul!

When, in 1875, it was suggested to China that she should withdraw her forces from Tonkin, the government answered that "imperial forces had been sent to Tonkin, 1. To succor a tributary kingdom ; 2. To assure the safety of our frontiers." Prince Kung added, "China cannot refuse protection and aid to a vassal." The Chinese troops were not withdrawn. In 1879 fresh rebellion in Tonkin was suppressed without the aid of French troops, and the "Peking Gazette" of January 25, 1880, announced that peace had been restored in the dominion of those "whom our investiture has rendered our vassals." French prestige was being weakened in Annan, and the cabinet decided that it must take a step forward if it would not retire from Tonkin altogether. These warlike tendencies of the government leaked out, and the Chinese minister, Marquis Tseng, addressed a dispatch to M. Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire, in which the rights of China in Annan were very plainly alluded to. No notice was taken of Minister Tseng's communication.

A month later Marquis Tseng demanded an explanation of these bellicose rumors, but "it was not till the 8th of January,

1882, that he was put in possession of views which France and French ministers had studiously kept secret from China for seven years!" From that time the French government assumed that China had acknowledged the receipt of a copy of the treaty of 1874, and had not then objected to it, and, therefore, had virtually acknowledged the French protectorate over Tonkin! They claimed that the treaty contained the phrase, "a country *heretofore* tributary to China." Marquis Tseng insisted that the word "*autrefois*" was not in the original treaty, and that, in his letter acknowledging the receipt of the treaty and commenting on its contents, Prince Kung had used these words: "*Has been for a long time, and still is, tributary to China:*" which words were omitted by the French translator, and an omission which altered the whole gist of China's claim: an omission which, says Norman, "it is hard to believe was unintentional."

Every thing now drifted toward war. The French consul at Hanoi represented himself as seriously threatened by the Black Flags, and Captain Rivière was directed to proceed up the Red River and re-enforce the consular escort. In March, 1882, the Red River expedition was organized. It consisted of two sloops of war, eight gun-boats, one dispatch-boat, one steam-launch, and 620 men, all being under command of Captain Henri Rivière, "a writer of several excellent novels and more than one indifferent play." The governor of Cochin China, M. Vilers, enjoined pacific measures in a letter of instructions to Captain Riviére, given in French, *in extenso*, on pages 192-196 of Norman. Captain Rivière was instructed to avoid all hostilities; to forward all prisoners to Saigon for disposal; not to execute any Black Flags taken captive; not to come in contact with Chinese imperial troops. On the 2d of April the hostile fleet (for such it proved to be) anchored off Hanoi. The mandarins naturally answered this display of force by similar show of force. Rivière remonstrated with them, saying that their hostile attitude was calculated to provoke war. He announced to the governor that his expedition had two objects: 1. To rid the river of pirates; 2. To get a new treaty, the terms of which were, (1) The abolition of all transit dues; (2) Free passage for all French ships through all the water-ways of Annan; (3) The transfer of the various fort

between Hanoi and the sea to the French ; (4) The withdrawal of all Chinese troops from Tonkin.

On the 21st of April Captain Rivière forwarded his ultimatum to the hesitating mandarins, threatening to attack the citadel by eight o'clock the next morning if his demands were not acceded to. The rulers temporized and Rivière acted. On the 26th, at eight A. M., he opened fire on the citadel, and a storming column of 800 seamen and marines was forthwith landed. By eleven the walls were breached and the garrison flying, followed, as they fled, by the destructive shells of the gun-boats. By twelve the tricolor was floating from the citadel. The French loss, as usual, was trifling, that of the Annanites heavy, upward of 1,100 dead bodies being buried by the victors.

March 25, 1883, Rivière proceeded to Nam-Dinh, a place on the southern arm of the river, only thirty miles or so from the sea. With ten vessels, and 800 marines in addition to the vessels' crews, he appeared before the city and at once summoned the governor to surrender. The governor refused, and at day-break on the 27th the squadron opened fire on the forts, the marines landed, and by night-fall the tricolor floated over the bastions of Nam-Dinh, as it had done under Garnier ten years before.

The losses on the side of the French were slight, those of the Annanites put down at the usual figure, "a thousand killed and wounded," prisoners forty-nine, summarily executed at yard-arm on Riviére's own vessel, in direct defiance of the instructions of Governor Le Myre de Vilers !

While Rivière was absent at Nam-Dinh, the Black Flags (reconstructed outlaws of the Robin Hood stamp) made a determined night attack on the French in the citadel at Hanoi. The opportune arrival of a gun-boat, armed with rifled cannon, drove off the invaders; but on his return to Hanoi, on the 2nd of April, 1883, Commander Rivière found the enemy annoying the garrison in every possible way, and he determined to make a demonstration in the direction of Sontay, a post twenty-five or thirty miles farther up the river, which for many years had been held by a Chinese garrison. The resistance of the Annanites was vigorous. Ten years before, 1873, Garnier, with 700 men, overran the whole peninsula; now, Rivière,

with 1,200 men, had to proceed cautiously. Every day the Black Flags grew bolder and more demonstrative, and Riviére felt that some crushing blow must be delivered at once before the commencement of the hot season. On the 19th of May, though suffering from fever, he made a sortie from the citadel and pushed along the same fatal road which Garnier had pursued ten years before, to meet the same fate. The column was ambuscaded, and Riviére fell at the head of it, with three other officers and fifty men. The spot where Riviére fell in 1883 was not 1,500 yards from where Garnier met his death in 1873. Norman opines that "when the history of France in Further India comes to be written, the names of Garnier and Riviére will be found associated with the blackest deeds that ever stained the annals of European intervention in the East." They enacted Cortez and Pizarro on a small scale, it is true, but would not a French annalist easily find parallels in British armed interference in every quarter of the globe?

Since May 19, 1883, "France," says General Mesny, "has been continually sending re-enforcements to Annan to avenge Henri Riviére's death. The news of the disaster reached Paris on the 26th, and the Colonial Minister telegraphed over the wires, "France will avenge her brave sons," (*glorieux enfants*.) Smaller garrisons were speedily evacuated and beleaguered Hanoi strengthened. A squadron for special service was fitted out, and Admiral Courbet appeared on the field. Emboldened by their success in checking Riviére, the Black Flags drew a close cordon around Hanoi and determined to drive out the barbarians in 1883 as they had done in 1873. Heavy fighting was done in this neighborhood, the details of which we have not room to recapitulate. The emperor, Tu Due, died on the 20th of July, and on the 18th of August Admiral Courbet appeared before the capital, Hué, with six vessels, a naval brigade of 1,200 marines, and fifteen light field-guns drawn by coolies. After sustaining heavy bombardment for two days, the forts at the mouth of the river surrendered, and two gun-boats steamed over the bar and cannonaded the town itself. On the 20th the Foreign Minister arrived under cover of a flag of truce and a treaty was forthwith demanded. Captain Norman says: "No quarter was given in the fight. All prisoners were summarily shot by the admiral's orders." The signature to the

new treaty was wrung from the new king at the point of the bayonet on the 25th of August. Annan was to recognize the French protectorate and to bind herself to hold no communication with foreign powers except through the French Resident at Hué. The southernmost province of Annan was to be added to the six already taken; forts on Hué River were to be garrisoned by French troops; the customs were placed in French hands; railroad and telegraph lines were to be constructed between Saigon and Hanoi; French residents, with garrisons, were to live in all the principal towns; Annan was to cede all her ships of war, and to furnish indemnity sufficient to pay the expenses of French occupation. Thus, Annan itself forced to become a dependency of France, as well as Cochin China on the south and Tonkin on the north, the French virtually took possession of the entire peninsula.

What could China do but protest and remonstrate? Admiral Courbet now assumed control over operations in the Red River. He demanded and obtained what he has since energetically maintained, absolute and unfettered freedom of action. His first objective point was Sontay. Reconnoitering showed that the fortress was strong, and with only 7,000 men he did not think it advisable to attempt its reduction. In November he had 9,000 men with fifty guns, and the addition of twelve Hotchkiss revolving cannon from the fleet. This McClellan policy of delay and calling for re-enforcements seemed to General Mesny "a policy of shilly-shally." Norman thinks it was dictated by "political reasons;" hesitancy on the part of the home government to involve itself in a war with China on account of Annan. Nevertheless, on the 14th of December, having drawn large re-enforcements from below, Admiral Courbet advanced against Sontay with a force 10,000 strong, including Annanite irregulars. On the 16th the town was reached, and the gun-boats shelled the works. By night-fall the outworks were carried, and the Chinese, in the ensuing darkness, evacuated the citadel. The boasting French declared that "Sedan was compensated in Sontay!" Norman gives the losses at 75 killed, 245 wounded, and these chiefly the dark allies of the French, and not native French born troops. Mesny, who draws his information from Chinese sources, says: "So desperate was the fighting that the French loss was over a thousand men, being especially

heavy in officers, while the loss of the enemy was slight, the dead in the town being chiefly non-combatant inhabitants."

In March of the present year (1884) Bac-Ninh, thirty miles north-east from Hanoi, was occupied; in April Hing Hoa, above Sontay, was captured; in May a provisional treaty was agreed on at Tientsin between Commander Fournier and Commissioner Li, which it was hoped might stay hostilities and prevent war, but on the 23d of June, collision at Langsong put an end to negotiations. The French claimed "infraction of treaty," and demanded from China \$5,000,000 under penalty of immediate resumption of war and its transfer from Tonkin to the soil of China itself. Langsong is a hundred miles north-east from Hanoi and within twenty of the Chinese boundary line. The question "Who fired the first gun at Langsong?" has been mooted and never satisfactorily answered. Rev. T. H. Worley, of Central China Mission, in a letter to the "Central Christian Advocate," October last, says:

There can be little doubt that the deliberate judgment of the civilized world will be that France was really the transgressor in the Langsong skirmish, as she was moving her troops northward near the Chinese frontier without warrant or right, while the preliminary treaty was pending for a final settlement between the two countries.

The Chinese refused to pay the heavy indemnity, and on the 11th of August the French fleet bombarded the defenses of Keeloong, a coaling station belonging to the Chinese at the northern end of the island of Formosa. Thence, crossing over 150 miles, they entered the river Min, steamed past its defenses without resistance by the Chinese, and anchored their whole force in the wide reach of the river used as anchorage ground by all foreign vessels, nine miles below the city of Foochow. It is noteworthy that this was the first point at which French operations and French methods came directly under the eyes of European spectators.

Foochow had never before been subjected to foreign attack. The people could hardly believe the French in earnest to visit on them revenge for reverses in a neighboring country so far away as Tonkin. In any southern river the forts at its mouth would have done their best to keep the intruders out of the stream. Yet here the whole fleet was permitted to ascend

twenty five miles and anchor quietly in the Min to renew, upon the local mandarins, their demand for indemnity. The local mandarins had no indemnity to pay, so notice was given that the next day the fleet would commence attack ; the non-combatants, and foreign women and children residing on Pagoda Island, were warned to take refuge on shipboard, and the neutral vessels, thirteen in number, to get out of the way. Three English men-of-war, several merchantmen, the United States steam corvette "Enterprise," and other vessels were anchored, some above and the rest half a mile down the stream. On the east side of the river was the Chinese custom house, in front of which lay three Chinese gun-boats. Two miles across, diagonally, to the west, were the works of the Chinese Arsenal, "a dock, tall chimneys, rows of workshops, whence the clang of steam hammers and the hum of engines might be distinctly heard, looking in the distance like an English manufacturing village, with a row of steam hammers mighty enough to forge a shaft for the biggest steamer afloat, shops for practical engineering and ship-building, schools for mechanical drawing and modeling, the splendid works from which had been turned out a fleet of gun-boats that would not dishonor a ship-yard in Europe, formidable enough to native pirates, but not of much service in a combat with a powerful western armament." So wrote traveler Thomson in 1875. Saturday, August 23, 1884, this little Chinese fleet lay, till noon, calmly, *vis-à-vis* with nine ships of the finest navy in the world, each foreign vessel silently training its guns upon a selected victim on the other side, and waiting for the signal to open the terrible scene of carnage. The Chinese crews stood by their guns waiting for the French to begin. At five minutes to 2 P. M. the French began, and the broadsides of nine iron-clads rained a perfect storm and hail upon their respective targets in such an incessant shower that whole crews were swept away, their vessels being in a sinking condition or on fire before their surviving defenders had recovered from the first thunder-bolt crash sufficiently to return the French fire, which they did with some execution, while the infernal torpedo boat shot out for the Chinese flag-ship, made fast to her stern, and blew her out of water ! It was a duel at ten paces ; one of the parties armed with a Spencer rifle and skilled in its use, taking direct aim, and his own time to fire,

while the other was fumbling a match-lock which he discharged as he fell, sufficiently wide of its object! The demoralized crews jumped overboard; two of the gun-boats tried to escape up the river; but in an hour the arsenal was defenseless. The river was covered with burning fragments and strewn with dead and dying. "The pitiless French gave no quarter." On Sunday the French knocked the arsenal to pieces, one of the finest establishments of the kind in the world, said to have cost the Chinese government \$150,000,000. Without attempting to land or hold the place, the French fleet, leaving one or two thousand natives dead and wounded, departed to renew their filibustering and piratical ravages elsewhere.\* Filibustering and piratical we advisedly call them, because they were perpetrated, and, up to this writing, have been carried on, without declaration of war, being merely exhibitions of strategy and strength apparently for the purposes of intimidation and empty glorification! To openly declare war or proclaim blockade would shut their fleet out of the neutral port of Hong-Kong, whither the disabled resort to recruit and repair.

Reports from battle-fields lie like politicians. Each side conceals or minimizes its own losses and magnifies those of the enemy. From every field the French report losses in killed and wounded. The Chinese take no care for census statistics of any kind, living or dead, much less of its coolie soldiery, and it will never be known how many thousands of them have been swept away by the murderous machines now in vogue in naval warfare. Mesny says, "The French allow no correspondents to accompany them to the scene of action," and the officers report only what will please the people, glorify the "*glorieux enfants*," and secure additional millions of francs from the French Chambers. Mesny's little volume, written in Hong-Kong and from a Chinese stand-point, is a serviceable corrective of Norman's in facts, tone, and temper. He points out that the Black Flags are not, as Norman assumes, the relics of banished Tai-ping rebels, and that, too, without having known of

\* In a letter from Japan dated August 29, 1884, a week after the bombardment, the late Bishop Wiley wrote: "The general judgment of all parties out here is, that the course of the French is one of high-handed outrage, little better than a marauding expedition, wholly out of place in the nineteenth century, and only fitted to rank with the old Portuguese and Spanish brigandage of two centuries ago."

Norman's work when he wrote his own. Both works are in the same egotistic British vein, though so different in spirit. That France is actuated less by a national passion for glory than by jealousy of England, is Norman's key-note and refrain. Mesny's drift is to show that China's protectorate of Tonkin is centuries old, and that it has never been surrendered. Says Mesny :

China and Annan both are well aware of the unblushingly piratical nature of the late French attempts in Tunis and Madagascar, and China is determined not to have France as a powerful and hostile state on the very borders of her wealthiest provinces. . . . *For every man France loses, China can afford to lose a thousand.*

Supposing her to be successful, what will France gain by the unequal struggle ? She will merely incur the intense and undying hatred of both Annanites and Chinese. Chinese opinion of their foreign assailants may be gathered from a proclamation placarded on the walls of Sontay at the time of the filibustering raid of Rivière :

You, French freebooters, dwellers by force in Europe, tigers in the world at large, venting your crafty schemes and evil deeds; there is no land for which your mouth does not water, no riches you do not desire to devour. Religious teaching you employ as a means to injure and undermine. International commerce is, with you, a pretext for swallowing up countries. Your cruelty is infinite, your wickedness extreme. On your strength you rely to debauch our women, crimes which excite the indignation of gods and men, unendurable in heaven and on earth. You would avail yourselves of an excuse to acquire Annan under pretext of international commerce, trying to befool the world, to give vent to your martial designs, seizing cities, storming towns, slaughtering officials, and robbing the revenue, killing the innocent and encouraging marauding bands. Your outrages and cruelties have reached far and wide. Rivers would not wash out your shame.

There is much more of the same sort, and all of it is sufficiently vigorous.

Trade cannot be *made* to flow down the Red River, while the West River runs from the same region direct to Canton.

France will have, for years, to maintain a large European army in an unhealthy climate, and will require strong garrisons in every town she desires to hold. French power will cease when the rifle-bullet ceases to hum, or French artillery is no longer heard. . . . The only parties who will ultimately derive benefit from the success of the aggressive policy of France will be Britain commercially, and China politically, for Great Britain will

have the trade, whether Tonkin is Chinese or not, and China will heed the lessons taught by the recent imbroglio and prepare herself to cope with future troubles of the same or a similar nature.

France will teach China the art of war, as Bonaparte taught Europe the tactics by which he was ultimately overthrown.

The only American critic of Norman's work who has come under our notice, regrets that the captain did not stick to simple narrative, and omit his ultra-British opinions and objurgations. We have adhered to this plan, and presented the gist of his studies and collections in such form as to give readers the fullest idea of the situation in the East. It would add nothing to the value of this article to load it with the charges of duplicity, "tyranny, greed, cruelty, and unscrupulousness" with which the captain garnishes his book from preface to appendix.

As a specimen of many pages we quote a single paragraph from the former :

The Republic is playing the braggart's game. She feels that her very existence depends on France being fed with "glory," and her ministers indulge in vain hopes that the grievous burden of taxation will be forgotten in the glamour of a successful campaign. But war breeds war, and defeat is the twin to victory. Sedan was the corollary to Mexico. Will Sontay be avenged in Paris?

There is no doubt that "jealousy of England is a national trait in the French character." We were greatly indebted to France for help to bring the American Revolution to a successful close; but our gratitude might have been slightly alloyed with the reflection that it was less to help a struggling people into national existence than to deal a staggering blow at her ancient rival and foe. Fifteen years afterward Frenchmen were ready to go to war with us for declining to second their insane efforts to overthrow all law and order. In 1862 France executed a flank movement in aid of the rebellion, and for the destruction of the very republic she had helped to create, by invading Mexico (just as she is now invading Tonkin), and setting up an empire under her protectorate on our southern borders. Mesny and Norman both point to the patent fact that France is a failure as a colonizer. Her greatest successes in this line were achieved in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when she owned all America north of the St. Lawrence and west of the Mississippi, and attempted to monopolize the Ohio.

England wrested Canada from her, and Bonaparte sold us her western possessions to prevent their falling into the hands of the British; and to-day France owns nothing in this hemisphere except a few insignificant islands and a fragment of Guiana in South America. She did the commercial world a service by subjecting the Algerine pirates, and holding on to them in spite of chronic insurrection, and the cost of the sustenance of a force of 75,000 men as a police necessary to keep 3,000,000 Mohammedans in order. Why she needed to add to this bill of expense the further charge of a protectorate of Tunis the world is yet inquiring. Frank Vincent, author of "The Land of the White Elephant," visited Saigon and recorded his impressions of the French as colonists:

"France in the East" is, so far as my limited observation goes, a great farce, a travesty, a burlesque upon colonization in general. The French character is sadly wanting in many of the virtues necessary for successful pioneering in foreign lands. It lacks those sturdy, energetic, persevering traits which we see so ably displayed by the English in India and Australia and by the Germans in America. It must be that politics alone have to do with the retaining at the present day of so minute and oddly situated a province as Pondicherry, in India, or such a country as Cochin China, inhabited by so warlike and rebellious a people. After seeing the healthy, growing, and usually *paying* colonies of the British empire in the East, a visit to Saigon, "the infant capital of Asiatic France," leaves a ludicrous impression upon the mind of the observant and reflecting traveler. . . . The appearance of the Government House, an elegant modern palace of brick, with grand marble staircases, such as would grace London, Paris, or Washington, situated in the midst of a tropical jungle, surrounded by a few bamboo huts, is most droll.

Thomson, in his "Indo-China," says, in his remarks on Saigon, "The bulk of its commerce is in the hands of English and Germans; the French merchant carries on his trade with the polite ease and elegant deliberation" that characterize him at home, with little or none of the "weary toil, sleepless nights, and anxious days that enable the energetic trader to wrest a competency from the hands of fortune." Was there sarcasm in Governor Seward's remembrances of a visit to Saigon in 1871?

All eastern potentates and nobles maintain menageries. The public garden at Saigon proclaimed itself an appendage of the French Republic by a meager collection of leopards, tigers, bears, monkeys, birds, and reptiles.

He nevertheless devotes a page ("Around the World," p. 289) to philosophic reflections on the past and present of French colonization, west and east; thinks it sad that France has lost nearly all her colonial possessions, which she is now striving to replace in Cochin China in an Asiatic French empire, about forty miles square, which "figures so largely in the ambitious manifestoes of the government in Paris." Mr. Seward does not fail to note that the emperor of Annan "has two strings to his bow—concedes to France a protectorate [under treaty pressure], and at the same time, as titular vassal, claims protection from the emperor of China." That vassalship cropped squarely out, ten years after this, between the raids of Garnier (1873) and Rivière (1882-83) when the king of Annan sent to the emperor of China the customary triennial tribute, the articles of which were: Two elephant's tusks; two rhinoceros's horns; forty-five catties (60 lbs.) of betel nuts; forty-five catties of "grains of paradise" (a highly pungent aromatic); six hundred ounces of sandal-wood; one hundred pieces each of native silk, white silk, and raw silk; one hundred pieces of native cloth. "I, your vassal, in the torrid South, hasten to do my duty as befits my station." No mention of the "French protectorate" so strenuously insisted upon and vigorously enforced by treaties exacted by bomb-shells and bayonets for the preceding twenty years.

The suspicion of intentional omission in the translation of a treaty between France and Annan in 1874 recalls the charge made by Dr. Williams ("Middle Kingdom," vol. ii, p. 362) that the Chinese text of the French treaty with China in June, 1858, contained a paragraph not found in the French text of the convention, nor in any other foreign treaties, British, Russian, or American, namely, "It is permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure." Dr. Williams says:

The surreptitious insertion of this important stipulation in Article III of the Chinese text made void the whole, and was a procedure unworthy of a great nation like France, whose army environed Peking when the convention was signed.

Those Chinese who remember the war of 1858 think they have reason to hate the nation that so ruthlessly destroyed the emperor's magnificent summer palace and garden at Peking,

the cost of the furnishings of which Lord Elgin estimated at \$5,000,000; and who, instead of asking, like the British, for a slice of Chinese territory, insisted on indemnification for "all such churches, schools, cemeteries, lands, and buildings as were owned by the persecuted Roman Catholic missionaries generations before; an order which doubtless intensified the animosity that resulted in the Tientsin massacre of French missionaries in 1870, and produced such general revolt among property-holders that the project had to be quietly abandoned by French consuls and ministers. We may note, in passing, a sad exhibition of French jealousy of "perfidious Albion," in standing out last year in a world-convention to settle on a prime meridian because it was proposed that that meridian should run through the Greenwich Observatory!

Nevertheless, it would seem that we should look for some higher motive in a brave, intelligent people like the French than mere jealousy of a rival power. France might have a laudable ambition to provide homes abroad for a surplus population, if like her insular neighbor she were overcrowded at home. France has not had need, like Britain, to send out ten millions of colonists. France is one of the armed camps by which the surface of continental Europe is held. Every male must serve in the army twenty years; and by the time he is forty he is fixed at home, and all the inducements held out to young couples beginning life to begin it on foreign soil, have vanished, and he grows old where his youth and middle life have been spent. Passion for official life is universal in France, and "one half the populace is heavily taxed that the other half may wear shoulder-straps." In the colonies the "officials are ten to one of the resident French population." Laws remanding prisoners from distant colonies to France for judicial trial are out of joint with the times and subversive of the growth of independent governmental policy in the colonies themselves. The humane governor of Saigon would have had the Black Flags taken in war sent to Saigon for trial, but the naval commanders made pirates of all prisoners, and hung and shot and beheaded on the spot all that fell into their hands. Norman insists that France, like Spain in the fifteenth century, knows no modes of propagating the Roman Catholic religion in heathendom except by slaughter and conquest.

In possession of a magnificent navy, her crews and commanders naturally prefer action to repose. They would rather be at war than rotting idly in quiet harbors at home or dull stations at foreign ports. Crews get exercise as well as pay, and officers get experience and *gloire*. When opportunity offers to raid a semi-barbarian's summer palace all get "loot," the cheerful oriental designation of the fruits of spoliation and robbery, called among us "plunder," not by any means in the innocent western sense of personal luggage.

China and Annan waters are the training ground for a navy that by its magnificent equipments, splendid service, and formidableness is already exciting the jealousy, if not the fears, of England, who proudly remembers how she swept France from the seas in 1805, as her confederate cruisers did our merchant marine in 1863, '64. The terribly unequal contest between this well-appointed fleet and the ill-manned and worse officered Chinese vessels suggests to the imagination the picture of a future possibility of the collision of two such squadrons, French and English or French and German, with like armaments and similarly experienced and determined crews. The volcanic Paris commune, ever ready to burst into lurid eruption, needs constant vent. The attention of the mob needs to be distracted from Paris and home matters and fixed on the "glory" of French arms and French successes abroad.

Compte de Gasparin wrote, in 1881, of the French people :

War amuses us, sons of ancient Gallic sires, who knew no pleasure superior to that of fighting ; who burned the [Roman] capitol, and left their name in distant Galatia [Gaul-Asia]. We demand excitement ! We have reached the reputation of *enfants terrible* [fearful fellows], dreaded as a source of constant danger ! [A standing menace to the peace of Europe, the world inquires,] "What will France do next?" "What is she getting ready for now?" "Where will she attack?" "What is she most desirous of?" There are not fifteen minutes' peace, any way ! Now, it is war, and Europe, armed to the teeth, asks each morning if France is not about to give the signal and begin the fray ? Anon, it is revolution, and neighboring States ask anxiously if anarchy is about to run riot and infest the whole body politic ? When a French dynasty has lasted fifteen years its days, as every body knows, are numbered. Paris will be in a blaze, and incendiary torches will light up the whole horizon ! I have heard grave men seriously propose that Europe, jaded to death with

these constant alarms, should put France under bonds to end these ever-recurring dangers.

Revolutionary France is even more troublesome than warring France. France does not merely endure a revolution, she enjoys it ; goes into it on a grand scale. The entire people take a hand in, and, under pretext of liberty, scatter its fires to the four quarters of the globe. Let us not deceive ourselves. A volcano is not a pleasant neighbor to any body.

While England, as a limited monarchy, and the United States, as a republic, have pursued the even tenor of their way for a century, uneasy France, an absolutism under Louis XVI., became a sort of republic in the first days of the Revolution ; an imperialism under Napoleon I. ; a Bourbon monarchy under Louis XVIII. and Charles X. ; an Orleans dynasty under Louis Philippe ; a republic in 1848 ; an imperialism under the third Napoleon, and a republic for the third time from 1870 !

The national craze of the hour seems to be for "protectorates." Civilized governments and the Caucasian race assume that the semi-civilized and dark races are unable to take care of themselves, and generously proffer their protection. England has recently proclaimed a "protectorate" over the immense island of New Guinea ; Germany a "protectorate" over Zanzibar ; France over Tunis, with proffer of a rejected "protectorate" over part of Madagascar ; another in the valley of the Congo ; and another over the peninsula of Annan.

China is no match for France—has no adequate protection against the "armed intervention" so dear to military Europe. Her only sure protective policy is, that which she has pursued for centuries, the turtle hiding within its shell—a policy of isolation and exclusion. The allied world-protectors have beaten down her walls, broken open her barricaded gates, and forced their way into the presence of the yellow throne of the "son of heaven," a sacrilegio like that of which Italy has been guilty in reducing the god of the Vatican to the status of a mortal and a citizen. They have said to the emperor, "Put iron-clads and steam frigates and corvettes in place of your clumsy, lateen-rigged junks ; substitute breech-loading rifled cannon, Hotchkiss revolving and immense Krupp guns for the rusty smooth bores with which the Jesuits manned your fortresses two hundred years ago." China took the advice because she was

compelled to; built half a dozen arsenals, under the direction of French engineers, the same nation that helped Annan to the forts and defenses a hundred years ago, and later, that has rendered the resistance in that country so much more stubborn than any as yet encountered in China itself. Now, when China has expended millions, wrung from her half-clothed, half-starved, opium-stupefied populations, and equipped arsenals that are a wonder and admiration with foreigners, at Canton, Ningpo, Foochow, Shanghai, and Peking, comes the very nation that helped her to these "modern improvements," and knocks them about her ears as French cannon knocked the bricks out of the old wall of Shanghai in 1856! The demand for "indemnity" to pay for the expense of giving China these lessons in Christian tactics has risen, in the minds of her assailants, to sixteen millions, now talked of as a proper offset to her stubbornness in declining to pay five! Soon a slice of territory will have to be added to the pecuniary compensation, and it would not be surprising if, in addition to Tonkin, China were called on to surrender Yunnan (the Cloudy South), with her immense territory and millions of inhabitants.

The Christian world of the nineteenth century has expended millions in the far East to introduce a religion that professes to be a religion of peace. Through that semi-political organization, Jesuitism, it has brought the Annanites nothing but disturbance, dismemberment, and chronic war. To China and India the proffer has been like that of the Arabs, the "sword or the Koran," bomb-shells and Bibles, Krupp-shot and crucifixes, priests and torpedoes, oratories and opium. Consistency is nothing to Caucasian ideal progressives, shouting "free country" and "free trade" with one breath; at the next, our politicians adopt China's own antiquated exclusion policy, and impose a tariff on labor, taboo "free labor" altogether, and give a monopoly of high wages and excessive "protection" to its own favored white citizens. Governmentally, China and France, like America, are Augean stables of official corruption. When and by whom these filthy purlieus of their respective capitals are to be purged does not clearly appear. How long must Christianity and pure civilization be disgraced and retarded by unscrupulous national ambition and sordid commercial interest?

## ART. III.—SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE GREEK ARTICLE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE doctrine of the Greek article has attracted the attention of New Testament critics for generations, and is still an unsettled problem. An inquiry into its nature and the application of it to some disputed points in exegesis is not unworthy of attention. Some of the best grammarians hold that no definite rules can be laid down in relation to it, the exceptions being so numerous as almost to exclude the idea of a well-defined law. Buttman ("New Testament Grammar") says:\*

In reference to the definite article the rules and regulations given in the grammars hold good, so far as in a subject so delicate we can talk of rules. For the endeavor to lay down fixed laws respecting the use of the article many a learned and laborious inquiry has already come to naught; and the intention ought at length to be abandoned of forcing the use or the omission of the article under precise regulations which find the proof of their nullity and uselessness in the throng of exceptions which it is necessary to subjoin straightway to almost every rule laid down.

Such a statement practically excludes the article from any positive service, in disputed cases, to the exegete, by making it a matter of impossibility to show that the writer under consideration had any positive reason for its use or omission.

Language, however, is so subtle and, when employed by the careful writer, so accurate that such a view would be destructive of all satisfactory interpretation of the article. Every body almost involuntarily employs and omits the article, if not with a definite object, yet with a definite result. It is practically impossible that a writer, especially in an argumentative production, should use the article or any other element of speech so loosely as to create embarrassment on the part of the reader as to the true meaning intended to be conveyed. We shall in this discussion consider first what is the distinguishing feature of the employment or omission of the article in the New Testament, and then apply it particularly to some passages which may serve as illustrations.

It is conceded that it was originally a demonstrative pronoun, and that in the development of the Greek language it natu-

\* Thayer's translation, p. 85.

rally assumed its present form and its distinct meaning. Curtius\* says: "It seems to set forth an object, either as a single one (the individualizing article) or as a class (the generic article)." Crosby† says: "The article is prefixed to substantives to mark them as definite." Donaldson‡ says: "The chief employment of the definite article is to distinguish the subject from the predicate; for from the nature of the case the subject is considered to be something definite, of which something general is predicated or denied." Winer's New Testament Grammar§ remarks: "When  $\delta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\tau\delta$  is employed as strictly an article before a noun, it marks the object as one definitely conceived, whether in consequence of its nature, or the context, or some circle of ideas assumed as known."

It is clear from all these statements that the definite article has a meaning which cannot be ignored in any accurate exegesis of a Greek author. The grammars of the language abound in rules for its introduction and omission, showing thereby that there must be laws that control its insertion, even though they cannot accurately define what they are. Middleton's great work on the Greek article is a splendid exhibition of fine critical acumen employed on a worthy subject of scholastic and practical inquiry. It is, however, apparent from a study of the exegesis of the New Testament, as exhibited in our best commentaries, that the force of the article is still an unsettled problem. Two of the best of modern commentators, Alford and Ellicott, seem to have no clear conception of its use when employed, or of the significance of its omission. Alford on Romans, and Ellicott on Galatians, seem to employ the article with *vóuoç* almost indiscriminately. The late revisers of the New Testament were evidently embarrassed in the same way, and have at times produced confusion in the translation from this very cause.

In order to make the discussion more specific, it is best to employ a word which gives full scope for variety of opinion and on which diversity of opinion is most marked, namely, *vóuoç*. The earliest indication we have of the difficulty of explaining this word is found in the changes of text which have evidently arisen out of the tendency to make *vóuoç*, whether with or without the article, mean the same thing. Let Rom. ii, 13,

\* Sec. 370, Harper's edition.

† Sec. 520.

‡ Sec. 394.

§ Thayer's translation, p. 105.

serve as an example. The *Textus Receptus* reads, *οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται.*

It will be seen that Alford, Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, as also our late revisers, omit the article before *νόμος* in both cases. That it should be omitted is manifest from the most cursory examination of the manuscript authorities. The Sinaitic, the Alexandrian, the Vatican, are unanimous in its omission. The only question is, Why was it ever inserted at a later date, and why was it retained so long, when the evidence against it is so overwhelming? The readiest and most satisfactory solution is that *ὁ νόμος* was regarded as meaning the Mosaic law, and as they supposed that the apostle had in mind that law in this verse, it was necessary to insert the article so as to express it properly.

The different views of this subject will most clearly appear by quoting from two of the most distinguished of modern exegetical scholars, their view of the same passage of Scripture, namely, Gal. ii, 19: *ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον ἵνα Θεῷ ζῆσω.* Ellicott translates, "For I truly through the law died to the law," etc. He remarks in exposition:

(1.) *Νόμος* in each case has the same meaning. (2.) That meaning, as the *context* requires, must be the Mosaic law (verse 16), no grammatical arguments founded on the absence of the article having any real validity.

On the other hand Lightfoot translates, "I through law died to law." His view is:

The written law—the Old Testament—is always *ὁ νόμος*. At least, it seems never to be quoted otherwise. *Νόμος* without the article is "law," considered as a principle, exemplified no doubt chiefly and signally in the Mosaic law, but very much wider than this in its application. In explaining the passage, therefore, we must seek for some element in the Mosaic law which it had in common with law generally, instead of dwelling on its special characteristics as a prophetic and typical dispensation.

A difference in interpretation so marked as that just shown could not exist if there were a grammatical law for the use of the article which had universal acceptance. Such agreement does not now exist, and until it takes place we cannot have a settled exegesis of many passages of Scripture, especially those

in which the article is omitted. The best putting of the use of the Greek article is that of Mr. T. S. Green, in his "Grammar of the New Testament," page 6. His language is:

In that form of language which has been taken as a standard, the article is prefixed to a word, or combination of words, when there is intended to be conveyed thereby, in the particular instance, an idea already, in some degree, familiarized to the mind: it points to a previous familiarity, real or presumed. Definiteness attaches to the general idea which is conveyed by a word or combination of words, when the idea is to be identified with one which has either been already impressed upon the mind or is suggested by another that has been so impressed; and the article, as a sign of this identification, is closely and consequentially, but not primarily, connected with definiteness.

It will be seen that this definition of the meaning of the article differs materially from that ordinarily given by grammarians, and that Winer maintains the old idea. The point made by Green, however, can be maintained, as he has done by numerous instances, both in the classics and in the New Testament writings. When *o νόμος* is employed we understand by it the well-known law, the law of Moses, familiar to those to whom the Scriptures were originally written.

It does not follow, however, that because the article always means that which is familiar to the speaker or writer, the same is not true sometimes of the employment of the same word without the article. It often occurs that, in ordinary and colloquial style, the article is omitted even when referring to that which is understood to be well known and familiar. We need not hesitate to admit that, in a number of instances in Paul's epistles, Paul uses the word *νόμος* without the article for the Mosaic law, but with a breadth of meaning which would be lost if the article were inserted.

It becomes, then, a matter of considerable moment what is the significance of the absence of the article. This point has not been so carefully treated by grammarians as it deserves. Its absence is explained in various ways, and meanings have been assigned to its omission growing out of the requirements of the passage, but a law of meaning does not appear to have been laid down with precision. In this connection a remark of Rev. C. J. Vaughan, D.D., in his notes on the Epistle to the Romans, (ii, 25,) is worthy of attention: "The absence of the

article directs attention to the *quality, nature, character*, etc., of the thing spoken of, not to its mere substance." In further application of it to *vóuoς*, he says:

The presence of the article would have restricted to the Jewish law, in particular, that which without the article is general in its application, however deeply tinged with Jewish thought and experience.

With the conception, then, that the *presence* of the article indicates that the thing mentioned is *well known* both to the reader and the writer, and that its *absence* calls attention to the word with which it is connected in its *qualitative aspect*, we have a sufficient groundwork to proceed with the inquiry into the usage of the New Testament, especially of Paul's writings, in its relation to *vóuoς*. At least, we have secured a working hypothesis which can be tested by application to a number of passages where this word is employed.

We will take for consideration some of the passages mentioned in Winer's Grammar (Moulton's translation, p. 152) to show that *vóuoς* without the article means the Mosaic law. Let it also be borne in mind that no exception is here taken to the statement that it does sometimes mean the Mosaic law, even without the article; but it is here maintained that when the article is absent from *vóuoς*, the Mosaic law is not the exclusive or main idea in the writer's mind, and which he desires to convey to his readers. We will begin by a passage which indicates Paul's stand-point, one in which the *vóuoς* without the article is referred by him to the Mosaic law—Phil. iii, 6. It is well known that the law of Moses most naturally occurred to Paul's mind, seeing that it formed an essential part of his early training. He was a "Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; . . . as touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless." His thought had usually turned to the law in which he had been reared, and this gave color to his modes of expression. We note that the *vóuoς* is without the article in both places in the above passage, and yet the revisers translate it *the law* in both instances. Ellicott, with his tendency to undervalue the force of the article, says: "Nóuoς is here the 'Mosaic law;'" and he translates, "*in respect* of the law (of Moses) a Pharisee." Again, in the next clause which employs the word, δικαιοσύνη τὴν ἐν

*νόμῳ γενόμενος ἀμεμπτός*, he translates, “righteousness that is in the law,” and adds, “All limitations of *νόμος*, for example, ‘*spēcialia instituta*,’ ‘*traditionem patrum*,’ are completely untenable.” The meaning of the apostle seems rather to be, *legally a Pharisee*; and, as touching *legal righteousness, blameless*. He was not a Pharisee according to the law of Moses, and he proves sin against all men so far as keeping the law perfectly was concerned. He is here speaking of law in its broader aspects, and hence the article is properly omitted.

The Epistle to the Romans opens a broad field of investigation as to the employment of *νόμος* with and without the article. Rom. ii, 12, 13: “For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law; and as many as sinned under law shall be judged by law; for not the hearers of the law shall be just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified.” It will at once be recognized that the late revisers have omitted the article before law, in conformity with the Greek, whereas the *Textus Receptus* inserts the article in every case. It is evident that Paul did not omit the article without reason. The law in the apostle’s mind was, no doubt, the Mosaic law; but if that had been mainly, or solely, in his mind, he could readily have inserted the article, and his meaning would have been clear. By its omission he indicates that the word “law” is applied in its qualitative aspect, such a thing as law, “by the application to this case of the rule laid down for them in any particular revelation under which they live.”\* He is speaking of any law which they regard as a duty. The Mosaic law was fundamentally the law in connection with which his argument originated; but his mind here takes a broader range, and he affirms of all law that which he has elsewhere affirmed of obedience to the law of Moses. The context demands this broader view. He affirms “wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek; but glory and honor and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek: for there is no respect of persons with God.” He follows it by the great principle, that men shall be judged by the law under which they are placed, and that it is universally true that “not the hearers of a law are just before God,

\* Vaughan, *l. c.*

but the doers of a law shall be justified." Here clearly the omission of the article indicates this broader application of the word "law." With the article inserted, as it is in the *Receptus*, this broader meaning, which was evidently in the apostle's thought, is excluded from the view of the reader, whereas its absence illumines the whole reasoning of the apostle.

The next passage which Winer applies to the Mosaic law without the article is Rom. ii, 23. We insert the Greek from the late revisers' text: *δες ἐν νόμῳ κανχᾶσαι, διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου τὸν Θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις.* The revisers' translation is: "Thou who gloriest in the law, through thy transgression of the law dishonorest thou God?" It will be seen that the revisers insert the article in the first clause before "law" when it is not in the Greek. They felt, however, the force of its absence, and in the margin, as an alternative rendering in that clause, read *a law for the law.* This is certainly one of the strongest cases for the use of *νόμος* without the article meaning the Mosaic law which can be found in all Paul's writings. Two explanations of the absence of the article with the first *νόμος*, and its presence with the second, are possible. One is to give to the first *νόμος* the broader meaning, law in general, a law, and to regard the second article as inserted to call attention to that law, by way of emphasis: "Those who gloriéd in a law, by the transgression of that law dost thou dishonor God?" (Vaughan's translation.) The other is to regard both as referring to the Mosaic law, but regarding the absence of the article with the first *νόμος* as showing its qualitative aspect. "Thou that gloriest in *law*," meaning thereby not in the possession of *the law*, but thou that gloriest in *such a thing* as law. Paul, for the moment, allows the Mosaic law to sink from his mind, and calls attention to their legal glorying by the omission of the article. He then returns in the next clause to the Mosaic law, of which he is at this point specially treating. It does not seem possible that Paul should use the same word with and without the article in such close juxtaposition with precisely the same meaning. If, however, the principle with which we started is accepted, namely, that the presence of the article marks that which is familiar and well known, and its absence gives a broader and qualitative aspect to the thing with which it is connected, we

have a clear elucidation of these passages without resort to any arbitrary employment of it.

The next passage cited by Winer in support of his proposition is Rom. iii, 31: *νόμον οὐν καταργοῦμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως; μή γένοιτο ἀλλὰ νόμον ἴστωμεν.* Here again the revisers waver as to the article, translating *the law* in the text, but inserting *law* in the margin: “Do we then make the law of none effect through faith? God forbid: nay, we establish the law.” Neither *νόμος* in this verse has the article, and yet in both cases they insert it in the translation. The reason for it is, no doubt, because both before and immediately following the apostle is writing of the law of Moses; hence, at first view it seems out of harmony to introduce law in general so abruptly. It must not be forgotten, however, that Paul abounds in abrupt transitions, and such a change, from the special to the general, and conversely, ought not to be a matter of surprise. There is no necessity for that explanation here. The verse is introduced by the post-positive particle *οὐν*, which, according to Hadley, (“Grammar,” sec. 886,) means “*therefore, consequently,*” stronger than *ἀρα*. It may fitly be regarded, therefore, as the conclusion of a previous discussion and broader in its application. He means by the omission of the article to say, “Do we, then, by means of *the* faith which we preach as necessary to salvation, make *law* of no account? On the contrary, we by this very means establish law.” He thus speaks of all law as a revelation of duty, and not exclusively of the law of Moses.

Rom. iv, 13–15, is another passage cited to prove the use of *νόμος* without the article to mean the Mosaic law: *Οὐ γάρ διὰ νόμου ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ἡ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτῶν είναι κόσμον, ἀλλὰ διὰ δικαιοσύνης πίστεως εἰ γάρ οἱ ἐκ νόμου κληρονόμοι, κεκένωται ἡ πίστις, καὶ κατήργηται ἡ ἐπαγγελία· οὐ γάρ νόμος ὄφραν κατεραζέται, etc.* Here again the revisers insert the article when it is not in the Greek: “For if they which are of *the* law be heirs, faith is made void,” etc. Suppose, however, we translate literally, “If they which are of *law* be heirs, faith is made void,” how much more expressive the passage becomes. It makes a direct antithesis between law and faith as a ground of heirship. In the apostle’s argument there were but two grounds of heirship—works and faith. He is here treating of great fundamental principles, the antagonism between works and faith

as a basis of salvation, and hence *νόμος* is most properly without the article, and the apostle here has no direct reference to the Mosaic law. The last clause of the fourteenth verse, however, does insert the article with marked significance. *The* law—the Mosaic law with which you are so familiar—worketh wrath. He proves the general law which he is maintaining by the specific case of the law of Moses. Thus the absence and presence of the article are rich in significance, as is shown in the fifteenth verse, where the article is again omitted: *οὐδὲ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος, οὐδὲ παράβασις.* “But where there is no law, neither is there transgression.” A more literal rendering is, “But where a law is not, neither is there transgression.” It does not mean where the law of Moses is not there is no transgression, but where law does not exist transgression does not exist. Here again the absence of the article has a clear significance.

Rom. vii, 1, is also cited as a proof that the absence of the article does not invalidate the use of the *νόμος* for the Mosaic law: *Ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε, ἀδελφοί, (γινώσκοντες γὰρ νόμον λαλῶ,) ὅτι ὁ νόμος κυριεῖ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐφ' ὅσον Χρόνον ζῇ.* The revisers translate: “Or are ye ignorant, brethren (for I speak to men that know the law), how that the law hath dominion over a man for so long time as he liveth.” The first *νόμος* is without the article, but is translated *the law*, with an alternative rendering in the margin, namely, *law*. How accurately the absence of the article indicates precisely what Paul is intending to say! He is apparently commanding their readiness to understand his argument, and he incidentally remarks, “I am speaking to men conversant with law.” They are therefore prepared to comprehend the illustration he is about to use. The absence of the article seems to be as necessary for the thought of the apostle with the first *νόμος* as its presence is with the second. He shows the accuracy of his writing in this delicate use of the article.

A passage from First Corinthians will further illustrate that there is a distinction between *νόμος* with and without the article more clearly marked than is admitted by Winer. 1 Cor. ix, 20: *Καὶ εγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδίσω τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμου ὡς ὑπὸ νόμου, μὴ ὡν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμου, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμου κερδίσκω.* The revisers translate: “And to the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews; to them

that are under the law as under the law, not being myself under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law." It is to be observed here that the article is not employed at all in this verse in connection with *vóuoς*, and yet the revisers have inserted it in every case. It will also be observed that in each instance *vóuoς* is directly preceded by a preposition. "Middleton on the Greek Article," chap. vi, sec. 1, regards the omission of the article following prepositions as anomalous. His assumption is that following a preposition the noun becomes anarthrous. It is well to examine this, for if it be so, an element of uncertainty is thereby added to the exegesis of important passages. Middleton says, in this same connection: "Hence it is evident that the absence of the article in such instances affords no presumption that the nouns are used indefinitely. Their definiteness or indefiniteness, when they are governed by prepositions, must be determined on other grounds."

This anomaly, if it be one, in linguistic criticism should only be allowed under the pressure of great exegetical necessity, and hence the inquiry may properly be raised whether a more correct explanation will not follow a literal rendering, assuming that the presence and absence of the article are intentional. Let us first look at the passage last mentioned: "And to the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews." That much of the translation is literal; that is, it is *τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις* in the first clause and *Ἰουδαίον* in the last. He means to say that he became to the Jews a Jew, that he might gain Jews. The article indicates that he refers to the well-known Jewish people, and its absence to such as are Jews. The absence indicates the qualitative aspect which is in his mind.

The view of the revisers' translation seems to be that the next clause is co-ordinate with the first and adds nothing to the thought, for they translate, "To them that are under the law, as under the law," etc. Who were those who regarded themselves as under the Mosaic law but the Jews? Is it not more in consonance with the apostle's meaning to regard the article as not omitted because of the preposition which precedes it, but because he has advanced beyond the thought of the Jews, and is now considering all that are under law, whether they be Jew or Gentile. Was it not the practice of Paul to eat with the

ties, and thus, by conforming to their customs in things indifferent, gain them for Christ? Stanley ("Notes on Corinthians," *l. c.*) regards those under law as "Jewish proselytes, or Jewish converts to Christianity," while Alford ("Commentary," *l. c.*) takes another view. He says:

These again are not Jewish converts, nor proselytes, who would not be thus distinguished from other Jews, but are much the same as *Ἰουδαῖοι*, only to the number of them the apostle did not belong, not being himself under the law, whereas he was naturally a Jew.

He affirms that the *ἀνομοι* are the heathen. Far more reasonable are the remarks on the passage in Olshausen's Commentary:

It is best to regard the Jews and the *ἀνομοι*, that is, Gentiles, as the leading contrasts, and the *οἱ ἀπὸ νόμου, those under law*, as a modification of the Gentiles. By the *ἀνομος* cannot be meant one who acknowledges absolutely no law; such a one would be designated *ἀσεβής, impious*, but merely one to whom the Mosaic ceremonial was unknown.

This view gives to the absence of the article a distinct meaning, and removes largely the embarrassment in the exegesis of the passage.

This distinction will appear in connection with *ὑιός* in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Heb. i, 1, the revisers translate as follows: "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in *his Son*," etc. The margin reads *a Son*. The Greek is *ἐν ὑιῷ, in a Son*. The revisers again show their uncertainty by placing *his Son* in the text and *a Son* in the margin. The insertion of *his* before Son is entirely gratuitous, for although the personal pronoun may be a proper translation of the definite article, as Acts xvii, 28, *τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν*, "for we are also *his* offspring," it cannot be claimed as the proper translation of its omission. This passage is one where the explanation of the omission of the article as an anomaly will not answer. The importance of this passage, and its bearing on the doctrine of the omission of the Greek article after prepositions, will justify the insertion of Alford's observations, as found in his Commentary, on the phrase *ἐν ὑιῷ*.

The omission (of the article) would not at any time surprise us after a preposition; but here, after *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*, we should expect as an antithesis, *ἐν τῷ νιῷ*. Hence we must seek a reason beyond that usual idiomatic omission. Emphatic position will often dispense with the article, and this may be alleged here. But even thus we do not get at the final cause. If the position of *νιῷ*, wherever anarthrous, is emphatic *to this extent*, it must be for some reason still latent. Some have suggested official denomination, making *νιός* into a quasi-proper name. But this again is only an introduction to the final reason. *Why* is such an anarthrous name here used as designating our Lord? Now, then, we come to the word itself, as we must do in all such cases, for an account of the idiom. And that account here seems to be found in the peculiar and exclusive character of that relation to God which *νιός* expresses. We may say that Jesus is "the Son of God;" by this is definitely expressed the fact, and the distinction from other sons of God implied: but we may also say that he is "Son of God;" and we thus give the predicate all fullness of meaning and prominence, and even more emphatically and definitely express the exclusive character of his sonship.

In Alford's view the breadth of the predication involved in the omission of the article affirms the exclusiveness of Christ's sonship.

The difficulty in the translation of this phrase is shown by Peile in his Annotations on Hebrews, in a note on this verse. He says:

"*Ἐν νιῷ*, improperly rendered in our English version "by *His Son*," cannot (although nouns, even when most definite, may be anarthrous after a preposition) have been intended by one who had just before written *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*, to convey *by the Son*, assumed to be known by that name. . . . We understand *ἐν νιῷ*, *δὲ ἔθηκε κληρονόμου πάντων* to express the Eternal God's *Personal Revelation of himself*, as in man's form and on man's behalf standing in the relation of Son unto himself.

It is sufficient for our purpose to show from these scholarly authorities that they distinctly recognize, what is apparent on the surface, that it will not do to trust the rule of the frequent omission of the article after prepositions, as laid down by Middleton and Winer, in a crucial case of exposition. The idea of the sonship of Christ runs through the whole passage, a sonship that involves divinity. The writer in this series of wonderful thoughts contrasts the communication of the old covenant by *τοῖς προφήταις*, the well-known prophets whom he need not mention, with the new Revelation made known not

in prophetic messengers, but in "a Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the world." Here again the absence of the article indicates the qualitative aspect under which the Son is viewed. It is in his character as Son, and not as servant or prophet or apostle, that he speaks to men from God.

The remarks which have been made have been confined chiefly to the use of the article with *vōuoc*. That word seems to be the most embarrassing. Winer takes pains to give the specific passages in which *vōuoc* without the article is employed for the Mosaic law. We have already indicated that is a disputed question, and cannot be disposed of without extensive and careful investigation. Prof. Moulton, in his note to Winer, says: "There is still difference of opinion on the proper interpretation of *vōuoc* without the article." It has been shown that the revisers had no rule on this point, but that they often translated it as if it were present when it was not in the Greek, but did not omit it when it was present. They were careful, also, to place the literal meaning in the margin, so that the difficulty might be manifest, and the reader might take his choice. Their translations are cited, not to call in question their high scholarship, which is beyond criticism, but to show that the scholarship of the world is divided on this point, and to raise the question whether there are not rules which govern the article as well as other parts of speech.

There is a necessity for more definiteness in this matter arising out of the very nature of language and the necessity for an accurate understanding of its meaning. Arbitrary or traditional interpretation should, as far as possible, yield to fixed grammatical laws. It is safe to affirm that there is no part of linguistic expression which cannot be reduced to scientific rules, if men have the patience and insight to discover what they are. The laws are there; it is the work of the student to find them.

The words of Alford on Heb. i, 2, already referred to, are worthy of consideration in this connection. He refers to the language of Prof. Stuart to refute it:

So far is this or any other usage of the article from being arbitrary, as Stuart here maintains, I will quote his sentence for a caution to tyros: "After all the rules which have been laid down

respecting the insertion or omission of the article in Greek, and all the theories which have been advanced, he who investigates for himself, and is guided only by *facts*, will find not a little that is arbitrary in the actual use of it. The cases are certainly very numerous where Greek writers insert or reject it at pleasure." The direct contrary of this assertion is the fact, and cannot be too much impressed on every Greek Testament student. The rules respecting the article are rigid, and are constantly observed; and there is no case of its omission or insertion in which there was not a distinct reason in the mind of the writer—usually, but not always, discernible by the patient and accurate scholar among ourselves.

To this view scholarship must come, and out of such investigations are to come some of the most precious thoughts of the New Testament.

It is fitting that we should now turn attention to some considerations favoring the view of the article thus far insisted on. As already seen, it gives a clear and consistent explanation to a large number of passages of Scripture which without it are confused and almost contradictory. In order to a harmony of revelation there must also be a harmony of interpretation. This was one of the strong points made for the late revision. They made uniform laws for the guidance of all, and they insisted on giving the same meaning to words and tenses so far as practicable. It is interesting to notice how often the necessities of translation led them to discard their own rules, especially in the translation of the tenses and the meaning of prepositions. The rules, however, were necessary, and the influence of them of unspeakable importance in securing an accurate translation. When laws are rigidly followed, and all books are subjected to the same analysis as to language, the harmonies and the discrepancies at once appear.

The accurate translation of the article gives a train of thought more in accord with the breadth of the views of Paul. Whoever would study Paul carefully must remember that he was the apostle of breadth. He it was that conceived of the Gospel most fully in its relations to all mankind. It was as the apostle to the Gentiles that he magnified his office. He regards his call to preach to them a grace. It is natural, therefore, to expect that he would have a broader terminology than some of the others. The word *νόος*, in its relation to the article, affords one of the best illustrations of this breadth. He employs the

word without the article more frequently than any of the others. While the danger to the Jew lay in his dependence upon the Mosaic law for justification, he recognizes the danger of the Gentile in dependence upon his self-righteousness also. He strips the mask from both, and shows the whole world guilty before God. In the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans he portrays the fearful condition of the heathen world, and in the second the equally wicked condition of the Jewish world, even greater in its guilt, because they were in the possession of the published revelation of God. What is the conclusion which he reaches? It is found in Rom. iii, 20: διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐδὲ δικαιοθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον ἀντοῦ, διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἀμαρτίας: "Because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for through the law cometh the knowledge of sin." Such is the translation of our late revisers, inserting the article in both cases before "law" where it is not in the Greek. Such has been the uniform usage of our translators, Wyclif and Tyndale and Rheims; in brief, it has been assumed that Paul meant the Mosaic law only.

Does not this view do injustice both to the breadth of the apostle's views and to his argument? What is meant by his strong statement of the iniquities of the Gentile world? What is meant by his terrible arraignment of Judaism? Was it not to reach a conclusion vital to his discussion, namely, to show that the whole world was guilty before God? Now, why does he assume that the whole world is guilty before God? The verse under consideration is the answer. I use the language of our recent revisers' translation, omitting only the article, which, according to the view here advocated, is inserted without authority: "Because by works of law shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for through-law cometh the knowledge of sin." The omission of the article in the translation following its omission in Greek gives a clearness and application to the reasoning which the insertion of it cannot give. How incongruous to affirm that the whole world was guilty before God, and then give as a reason that by the deeds of the law of Moses no flesh shall be justified in his sight! What he declares is, that by works of law, either the revealed law or the law written in the heart, no flesh can be justified. It is a universal proposition, Law cannot justify; its primary and

necessary function in respect to all sinners, is to produce a knowledge of sin.

The next verse confirms this view. I quote again from the revisers' translation: "But now apart from the law a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets." A reference to the Greek will show that the first *vōmos* is without the article, while the second *vōmos* retains it. The translation, however, inserts it in both cases. The omission of the article makes the meaning clear. "But now 'apart from law,'" in any law whatever, "a righteousness of God hath been manifested;" it is a righteousness whose essential condition was faith and not works.

Until one has entered into a comprehension of Paul's accurate use of the article, he is to a certain extent hindered in his comprehension of the world-wideness of the apostle's thought. It gives a revelation of the breadth of his views the more effective because it seems so incidental.

It would be too much to claim for the general principle here advocated that it will explain all cases. It is safe, however, to assume that when a law can be found which will explain nine out of ten of the instances, it may well be regarded as a safe guide. There are elements which enter into the composition of New Testament Greek, which must not be overlooked in an investigation like this. The old controversy between the purists and Hebraists has passed away, and no one will venture now to claim for the Greek of the New Testament an exact conformity to classic usage. It is an idiom, however, which has assumed a definite form and which has become closely studied, owing to the successful researches of Winer as seen in his very valuable Grammar.

The influence of Hebrew on New Testament diction, though not so great as the early Hebraists claimed, is yet considerable, and affected the article as well as the other elements of language. Care must be taken, therefore, to discriminate between a usage which is purely Greek and one which had its origin in Hebrew. In this particular the influence of the Septuagint needs to be carefully traced. The genealogies in the first chapter of Matthew afford an illustration of its influence. The article is omitted with the subject, and inserted with the object. Matthew i, 2: Ἀβραὰμ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰσαὰκ Ἰσαὰκ δὲ

ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ. This use of the article is found in the genealogy in the Septuagint, to wit, the fifth of Genesis. There are also phrases, idiomatic usages, which are readily recognized in all languages, but which do not come under any general law. It is sufficient if there can be found a general significance to its presence or absence which may always be recognized by the careful student.

We have considered thus far the writings of Paul, who was skilled in classical Greek, as shown by his quotations, and whose style would be formed on Greek rather than on the Hebrew models. The Gospel of John may show us how carefully the article was employed by a Palestinian Jew whose theology is based upon the Old Testament, who seems to have known Hebrew, whose language though Greek is strongly tinged with a Hebrew vocabulary and Hebrew modes of expression. (See Plummer on St. John. Introduction, p. 28.)

The commentator just mentioned calls attention to the significance of the article as used by John, who would not be supposed to be as accurate in this regard as those more conversant with classical Greek. John v, 35, has been literally translated by the revisers with added force: "He was the lamp that burneth and shineth," a great improvement over our authorized: "He was a burning and a shining light." John was the lamp, not the light. He was not merely *a* lamp, but *the* lamp, the well known herald of the Messiah, whose lamp was kindled at the true light, which was Christ. How much the rendering of the article adds to the force of the thought!

In John vii, 51, notice the force of the article with *vóuoc* in calling attention to the special Jewish law with which they were familiar: "Doth *our* law (*ò vóuoc*) judge a man, except it first hear from himself and know what he doeth?" The translation of the article by the possessive pronoun gives a good rendering of the force of the article and is material to the argument. Again, John xii, 36: "While ye have the light, believe on the light, that ye may become sons of light." The absence of the article with "light" and "sons" in the last clause is noteworthy. It teaches the close relationship between the light and him who believes on it. It shows the qualitative aspect of the predicate. A similar force is given by the absence of the article in John xvi, 21, when "She remembereth no more the anguish, for the

joy that a man is born into the world." A man (*ἀνθρωπος*), such a being as a man, a human being, is born into the world. It is the characteristic of that which is born which is thereby indicated rather than the birth of the individual child.

There is another realm of New Testament expression which shows the importance of the proper understanding of the force of the article, namely, those which bear upon the names given to our Saviour, especially in his relationship to God. As an example of the presence and absence of the article in close connection take Eph. i, 3: *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, etc. *Revisers' translation*: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." *Ellicott translates*: "God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is unnecessary to discuss the law of the grammarians on the repetition of the article with nouns joined by the conjunction *καὶ*, as the object is to show the value of the absence and presence of the article. It is a rule of classic Greek that *Θεός* with the article means the particular God, but without it divinity in general. Here Paul recognizes by the article with *Θεός* the personal God. But is the next word the same or a different person, and why is the article wanting with the word Father, if it refers to the same person? Has not the noun *πατήρ* a predicative force, and makes thereby a strong affirmation concerning God, namely, that the relation to our Lord Jesus Christ is that of Father? The relationship of God to Christ is that of father and son, not that of master and servant.

Such a rendering is applied by T. S. Green (Grammar, p. 48) to John i, 14: *δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός*.

In this place *μονογενοῦς* is virtually a substantive; and it is also clear that the language might have been *τοῦ μονογενοῦς παρὰ τοῦ πατρός*. Now, there can here be hardly any plea of license, and therefore the absence of the article is designed, and the object is to give the most effective expression of the characteristic circumstances of the mission of Jesus, standing in unapproachable contrast to that of all other divine messengers, such, in fact, as is best expressed in the words of the parable, *Ἐτι Ἐντὸν εἶχεν, νιὸν ἀγαπητὸν. . .* (Mark xii, 6), "And we beheld his glory, glory as of an only-begotten one come forth from a father, and, as such, contrasted with a mere servant, like Moses or the prophets."

If a further example of this mode of interpreting the absence of the article is needed, it will be found in John vii, 45: "The

officers therefore came to the chief priests and Pharisees." Pharisees being without the article shows that the latter involves some explanation of the former, or involves some predication concerning the chief priests. Plummer (comment on passage) says: "The omission of  $\tauο̄ς$  before  $\Phiαρισαίοντος$  shows that the chief priests and Pharisees are now regarded as one body."

At this point we may pause, the object of this paper being to set forth an exposition of the Greek Article in the New Testament, not novel, but which has not yet taken its place among the accepted theories on that subject. The recognized view is represented by Winer in his incomparable "Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament Greek." It is also proper to add, that the majority of interpreters have not explained the force of the omission of the article, especially with  $\nuόμος$ , as here advocated. That so many eminent biblical scholars have employed the more literal mode of rendering it, and that our late revisers have not entirely discarded it, but have shown how often the exact translation gives clearness and force to the argument, may be employed to prove at least that the tendency of modern scholarship is in the direction here indicated. Whatever may be the conclusions reached, the careful investigation of the minutest forms of expression in the Holy Scriptures must be a matter of permanent interest to all lovers of the truth as it is in Jesus, the Saviour.

It has thus been attempted to place before the reader some observations on important passages of Scripture growing out of the laws governing the Greek article. As shown in the beginning, it is a matter which is regarded by some of the best grammarians as beyond the reach of our investigations, and that we must therefore be content with a few general principles. If we must come to that conclusion let it only be after constant application to the study of the word of God. It will be found generally that the nearer we come to literalness in our interpretations, the more we aim to be governed by what the word says, and not by what we think it ought to say, the more consistent will be our interpretations with each other, and the more surely, with the divine guidance, may we attain the "mind of the Spirit."

## ART. IV.—REV. SYDNEY SMITH.

EDWARD EVERETT, writing of his "delightful visit" at Combe-Florey, the rectory of Rev. Sydney Smith, said: "The first remark I made to myself after listening to Mr. Sydney Smith's conversation was, that if he had not been known as the wittiest man of his day he would have been accounted one of the wisest." This epigrammatic observation is equivalent to saying that Mr. Smith's wit was so brilliant that it eclipsed his sagacity. His wise thoughts, of which his speech was by no means barren, were like small jewels incased in settings so large and so curiously wrought as to divert the observer's attention from the gems they were meant to display. Hence it came to pass that, as one of his admirers has recently remarked, his memory is kept green, not so much by his really "great services to rational freedom" as by his humorous sayings, many of which have become current coin in the speech of the reading world.

Perhaps there is a modicum of poetic justice in this. Mr. Smith resembled Democritus, the laughing philosopher of antiquity, of whom Juvenal said, that he laughed at the world whenever he stepped across his threshold. Smith did more, for his jocund laughter at men and things constantly rang out both within and without his threshold. And this sportive laughter was every-where contagious. All men enjoyed it and joined in it. But could they, on reflection, help suspecting that the weed of contempt grew close by the sources of those streams of amusing speech which flowed so constantly from his lips? That shrewd observer, Montaigne, remarks, that "things we laugh at are by that laughter expressed to be of no moment." How natural it was, therefore, that the wisdom of our modern Democritus being so lightly expressed, so apparently lacking in earnestness not to say sincerity, should float unheeded from the memories of men, and that he should be remembered more as a "remarkable buffoon" than as a reformer of many social abuses. Mr. Stuart J. Reid's new biography,\* which aims to

\* "A Sketch of the Life and Times of the Rev. Sydney Smith, Rector of Combe-Florey, and Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's. Based on Family Documents and the Recollection of Personal Friends." By Stuart J. Reid. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 20, 409. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1884.

bring the best side of Sydney Smith's character into bolder relief, may be accepted as evidence that the interest of the public in his career is still sufficiently strong to justify the publication of a fresh contribution to his memory. It may therefore be presumed that a brief outline of his history and a glance at his life-work may not be unacceptable to the readers of this Review.

The parents of Sydney Smith were neither rich nor titled. In allusion to his somewhat plebeian origin, he used to say in his jocose way "The Smiths never had any '*arms*,' and have invariably sealed their letters with their thumbs." His father, Mr. Robert Smith, inherited a small property which he was not sufficiently a man of affairs to increase. A vein of eccentricity ran through his character. He was odd and gloried in his oddity. He was nevertheless possessed of some rare intellectual qualities. He was fortunate in his marriage to a lady of French descent and Huguenot blood, who was endowed with both beauty of form and nobility of mind. From her Sydney Smith inherited his remarkable vivacity, geniality, and energy; and his father's oddity was reproduced, though considerably chastened, in those queerly expressed exaggerations which characterized his wit.

Sydney Smith's early life was not on the whole very enjoyable. He was born in 1771 at Woodford, Essex, the second of four brothers and one sister. In their childhood these precocious brothers preferred books and bookish discussions to the sports of the play-ground. When only six years old, Sydney was sent from home, first to a private school and then, with his younger brother Courtenay, to the Winchester Grammar School. In this latter institution he suffered extremely, as John Wesley did at the Charter-House, through lack of sufficient food and the rough semi-brutal conduct of his senior school-mates. To the day of his death the recollection of this abusive treatment roused him to sharp resentment. His progress in learning, however, was so rapid that he became captain of the school. He and his brother were so successful in winning prizes that the boys of their form wrote to the head master, saying, "We will not try for the college prizes if the Smiths are allowed to contend for them any more, because they always get them."

Sydney's scholarship was rated so high that he left Winchester captain of the school, and, as such, entitled to a scholarship and to a subsequent fellowship in New College, Oxford. Little is known of his career in that institution beyond the fact that in due time he gained his fellowship, and that, owing to his pecuniary disability to live after their expensive fashion, and to his pride of character, he associated very little with his fellow-students. Singularly enough, this young man, so uncommonly gifted with social qualities, formed no intimate college friendships. His wit, up to the time of his graduation, was an "unknown quantity," and respecting any special influences which may have contributed to the formation of his character during his college life no light is gathered.

Sydney Smith felt no call to the ministry of the Gospel. His inclination was for the bar, for which the character of his mind eminently fitted him. But his improvident father, unable to furnish the means necessary to his study of the law, insisted that he should enter the Church, saying, with blunt sternness, "You may be a college tutor or a parson." Not choosing to be a tutor, and seeing no other opening, Sydney, after much hesitation, consented to enter the Church, was ordained, and, having no wealthy patron to present him to a desirable Church living, was forced either to half starve on the five hundred dollars per annum derived from his fellowship, or to accept the curacy of an insignificant parish at Nether Avon, a mean hamlet situated in the midst of the solitude of Salisbury Plain.

Alas, that such a man should be forced into such an uncongenial situation! A lover of natural beauty, yet placed in a spot naked of every thing that gives charm to a landscape; a tolerably ripe scholar compelled to live among peasants whose mental stolidity was only exceeded by the sterility of the surrounding plains. A man made for society immured in a "spot of dull stagnation," and shut out from association with intelligent and cultivated minds; an ambitious man driven by stress of circumstances to minister to one of the starvation parishes of a rich National Church; a man of the world, professing no conviction of ministerial duty, reluctantly undertaking the care of souls! Such was the unpromising situation of this brilliant man at his first entrance into public life. He was somewhat in the position of Swift's Gulliver among the pygmies of

Lilliput, bound with the rigid cords of circumstances, which, notwithstanding his inborn strength, he was unable to burst asunder. No wonder he wrote, after being fairly settled there, "Nothing can equal the profound, the immeasurable, the awful dullness of this place, in which I lie dead and buried, in hopes of a joyful resurrection in the year 1796."

But as every desert has its oasis, so did this dreary parish afford one alleviation to the situation of our wrongly placed curate. Mr. Hicks Beach, the squire of Nether Avon, was a gentleman and a man of culture, who enjoyed his pastor's spicy after-dinner talks in his drawing-room on Sunday afternoons. The sparks from the curate's wit soon warmed his generous heart into friendship for the poor Oxford scholar; and after enjoying his pleasant company during his occasional residence in the parish, and assisting him in his earnest endeavors to instruct the semi-barbarous rustics of the hamlet, he persuaded him to resign the curacy at the end of two years and to proceed with his eldest son, as his friend and tutor, to the University of Weimar in Saxony. Gladly bidding adieu to his unprofitable parish, the young parson prepared to start with his pupil-friend for that seat of learning; but hearing that Germany was disturbed by Napoleon's wars, he conducted the young man to Edinburgh. In that city Mr. Smith soon found congenial society, with an entrance to the path along which lay his way to literary celebrity, social distinction, and, finally, to Church preferment.

To Smith, now twenty-six years of age, this transition from the doleful dullness and rustic stupidity of Nether Avon to the literary circle composed of such brilliant talkers as Jeffrey, Horner, Brougham, Walter Scott, Archibald Murray, etc., must have been like the flight of a soul from Dante's purgatory into paradise. These men, destined soon to stand among the first of the age in their respective departments, were as yet far from being rich or arrogantly aristocratic. Hence the poverty of Smith was no bar to his acquaintance with gentlemen who were quick to take the measure of his mind and to enjoy the raciness of his witty conversation, which seems to have been developed for the first time by his contact with those great men. They received him cordially, and were soon bound to him by the tie of a friendship which proved lasting as their lives.

Long years after, Smith, writing of his experiences in Edinburgh, said: "When shall I see Scotland again? Never shall I forget the happy days passed there amidst odious smells, barbarous sounds, bad suppers, excellent hearts, and most enlightened and cultivated understandings." Yet, despite this friendship for Scotland, he never could help jesting over the foibles of its people, who were so slow to comprehend his jests that he sometimes said: "It requires a surgical operation to get a joke well into a Scotch understanding. Their only idea of wit . . . is laughing immoderately at stated intervals. They are so imbued with metaphysics that they even make love metaphysically. I overheard a young lady of my acquaintance, at a dance in Edinburgh, exclaim in a sudden pause in the music, 'What you say, my Lord, is very true of love in the *abstract*, but'—here the fiddlers began fiddling furiously, and the rest was lost." This scene was probably little else than a joke, since he never hesitated to sacrifice truth on the altar of his wit, as he indirectly confessed when, speaking of his friend Francis Horner, he said, "Horner loved truth so much that he never could bear any jesting upon important subjects."

Mr. Smith, though still without pecuniary prospects sufficient to justify his marriage at the bar of prudence, ventured to become a Benedict two years after his arrival in Edinburgh. Miss Pybus, his chosen bride, had a small property, which he honorably insisted should be settled upon her and her children. His own resources were represented in six old silver tea-spoons, with which he one day rushed into the room, merry as a school-boy on a holiday, and flinging them into his bride's lap exclaimed, "There, Kate, you lucky girl, I give you all my fortune!" To these spoons a generous gift of £750 from the squire of Nether Avon for directing his son's studies was a timely addition to his meager resources. He also took two other pupils, from whom he derived a moderate income. But seeing no prospect in Edinburgh of gaining a position in the Church, he removed to London in 1803, where he hoped his gifts and attainments would procure him a presentation to some desirable Church living.

About a year before this removal he and his friends had originated the "Edinburgh Review," which was, as Coleridge subsequently remarked, the commencement of "an important

epoch in periodical criticism." It was first suggested by Smith to Jeffrey and Brougham when in the midst of a lively conversation in Jeffrey's modest parlor. Sydney half jestingly said, "Let us set up a Review!" This proposal, so lightly made, struck his companions so favorably that they accepted it at once with acclamation. He then laughingly suggested that the motto of the Review should be, "*Tenui Musam meditamur avena*" ("We cultivate literature on a little oatmeal"). This was objected to as being too truthful a confession of their actual poverty, and after some discussion they agreed to take a line from Publius Syrus, of whom Mr. Smith says, "none of us had read a single line." The motto, which is still retained, "*Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*" ("The judge is condemned when the guilty is acquitted"). When Sir Walter Scott saw this pugnacious motto, he remarked, "The motto is as if the adventurers had hung out the bloody flag on their title-page."

The spontaneity of this singular beginning of the Review shows that the gentlemen concerned had previously thought of the need of such a publication. There was a "Monthly Review" in existence which was not critical, but only a collection of essays, poems, etc. The literary interests of the age demanded a periodical of a higher character—a Review aiming, as Smith well said, "to make men wise in ten pages who have no appetite for a hundred; to condense nourishment, to work with pulp and essence, and to guard the stomach from idle burden and unmeaning bulk."

Clearly perceiving this public need, these gentlemen soon set to work in good earnest to supply it. Mr. Smith appears to have taken the lead in the preliminary business arrangements, and in editing the first three numbers. Its first number appeared October 10, 1802, and caused a marked sensation in the literary world. The first edition of seven hundred and fifty copies was quickly bought by the hungry public. So also was a second. Other and larger editions quickly followed. It was a success from the start, and when it reached its third number it had a circulation of twenty-five hundred, which in later years rose to some twelve thousand copies.

Sydney Smith informally edited the first three numbers; but on his removal to London, Jeffrey was regularly chosen its

editor, with an allowance of two hundred and fifty dollars per number, and fifty dollars for each sheet of sixteen pages—about three dollars per page. After a few years the editor's allowance was doubled, and over five dollars per page was paid for contributed articles. Jeffrey was strongly supported in his editorship by Mr. Smith, who ranked first among his coterie of accomplished contributors, which included Francis Horner, Brougham, Mackintosh, Dr. Thomas Brown, and Hallam. Later on, that master of historical criticism, Macaulay, made its pages sparkle with his brilliant essays. Sydney Smith's articles probably did more to draw popular attention to the Review in its early years than those of any other writer, because he wrote on questions in which the general public was practically interested. He assailed social barbarisms, unjust laws, cruel usages, and ecclesiastical abuses with such clearness of statement, such telling appeals to common sense and conscience, and such satirical denunciations, that he won the ears of intelligent readers, capturing the convictions of all but those stubborn conservatives in Church and State who, unable to repel his attacks, were exasperated by his boldness.

But while Smith made the Review popular with the many, Jeffrey gave it greater strength and higher critical reputation than his chief contributor. Jeffrey had less wit, but nicer discrimination; less vivacity, but more correct literary taste; less transparency of statement, but profounder thought and richer, though not more abundant, illustration; less sympathy with the practical side of things, but superior intellectual power and brilliancy of style. Hence, while the Review owed very much of its first success to Smith, it was more indebted in the end to Jeffrey, because he wrote for the cultivated classes who loved literature of the highest qualities for its own sake, and upon whose patronage such reviews must finally depend.

On his arrival in London, Mr. Smith was warmly greeted by his friend Horner, whom he had playfully dubbed the "Knight of the Shaggy Eyebrows," by Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir James Mackintosh, and other kindred spirits, who knew and prized his worth. They did their best to introduce him to society, and to encourage his hopes. But his poverty pinched him so sorely at first that his noble wife felt compelled to take a pearl necklace, left her by her mother, then recently deceased,

and sell it to the jewelers for twenty-five hundred dollars. Besides his actual poverty, he had to face the discouragement arising from the freezing coldness, not to say avowed hostility, of the dignitaries in Church and State who were the dispensers of Church preferments. His connection with the *Review*, already universally admitted to be "uncommonly well done, and perhaps the first in Europe," was now known. But it stood, as Jeffrey said, on the two legs of literature and Whiggery; hence its literary and progressive opinions were obnoxious to the Tories, who were then in power. Had it been a feeble thing, conservative leaders might have despised it; but being a thing of power they feared it, and therefore treated Smith, its most outspoken advocate of reform, and a man considerably in advance of his age, with such studied neglect that, at first, he could rarely find a London pulpit in which to preach. After being admitted to one, he wrote with characteristic playful exaggeration: "I thought I perceived that the greater part of the congregation thought me mad. The clerk was as pale as death in helping me off with my gown, for fear I should bite him." This prejudice reached even to the throne. George III., after reading some of his papers, had said, "Mr. Smith is a very clever fellow, but he will never be a bishop"—an ominous prediction, which was too literally fulfilled.

But in spite of these chilling mists of prejudice Sydney did not despair. He had faith in himself, and his friends were eager to assist him. An introduction from his brother Robert to Lord Holland led to his intimate friendship with that noble man, happily described by Lord John Russell as "a man who won without seeming to court, instructed without seeming to teach, and amused without laboring to be witty." Henceforth Smith had free access to those famous assemblies at Holland House where many of the most eminent men of England were then accustomed to meet and to enjoy what Lady Holland describes as "the perfection of social intercourse, a sort of mental dram-drinking, rare as it was delightful." To this brilliant conversation Smith contributed not a little genuine Attic salt. His vivacity, independence, and sagacious observations, "weighted with wisdom and winged with wit," made him one of the most fascinating talkers in those literary assemblies. Superior to him in wealth and position as were

most of his associates there, he never failed to speak his mind freely and fully, and when the imperious mistress of Holland House, with a rudeness not uncommon with her, said to him, one evening, "Sydney, ring the bell," he replied, "Yes, and shall I sweep the room?" The fact that she remained his friend after this sharp, witty rebuff illustrates both the suavity and the self-respect of our poor young clergyman. Had there been the least touch of chagrin in his reply her proud ladyship would have become his life-long foe, since she was capable of being "a good hater."

But this social disposition did not prevent Mr. Smith, when at his own fireside, from wishing that "smiles were meat for children, or kisses could be bread." He needed a friend who could introduce him to clerical employment. Such a friend he soon found in the generous Sir Thomas Bernard, who chanced to hear one or more of the few sermons he had been permitted to preach in London. Charmed with his discourses, as Dugald Stewart had previously been in Edinburgh, this large-souled man secured him the appointment of "alternate evening preacher at the Foundling Hospital." His success in attracting a large congregation of fashionable people to the hitherto neglected church of this institution, led to his appointment as morning preacher at Berkeley and Fitzroy chapels alternately. His fame then spread, and, through Sir Thomas Bernard, he was invited to deliver two courses of lectures on Moral Philosophy at the Royal Institution. His original and witty method of treating this topic drew such crowds that, writing to Jeffrey, Smith could say: "My lectures, just now, are at such a high pitch of celebrity that I must lose a good deal of reputation before the public settles into a just equilibrium respecting them." From his preaching and from these lectures Smith derived an income barely sufficient, with the strictest economy, for his family needs; until, after struggling with poverty three years, a brighter day began to dawn. The death of Pitt, succeeded by the ministry of Grenville and Fox, put it into the power of his Whig friends to assist him. And then, at the request of Lord Holland, he was presented to the living of Foston-le-Clay, in Yorkshire. This parish, though not such a one as he would have chosen, was worth twenty-five hundred dollars a year, which he gladly accepted, not because it was

ample for his needs—for it was not—but because it was a certainty. For some time he left its duties to a curate, but when a change in the law respecting the residence of the clergy compelled him to either resign or reside within his parish, though reluctant to leave London, he chose to remove to his living, which he did in 1809. Writing to Jeffrey of this flitting to the country, he said, with characteristic quaintness, “I shall take to grazing as quietly as Nebuchadnezzar.”

Before going thither, however, he had written a series of letters, under the assumed name of Peter Plymley, on the legal disabilities of the Irish Catholics, which had been to public opinion in England as a spark to gunpowder. Ireland, too, was moved to enthusiastic admiration. Since Swift, no Protestant clergyman had so ably pleaded in her behalf. Lord Murray, writing of these letters at a later period, said: “After Pascal’s Letters it is the most instructive piece of wisdom in the form of irony ever written, and had the most important and lasting effects.” Their authorship was kept secret a long time, but Smith had his reward in that his liberal sentiments, though a rank offense to the then dominant party, fell like fruitful seed into the popular mind. And when, in 1829, the Catholic Emancipation Bill swept those disabilities into the limbus of dead enactments, he had the satisfaction of knowing that his caustic pen had contributed not a little to that grand result. And since his death his opinions have found their crowning expression in the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church.

Mr. Smith was rector of Foston twenty-two years. His parishioners had not been favored with the labors of a resident minister for a hundred and fifty years, but only with the Sabbath services of a curate whose home was at York, some twelve miles distant. When Sydney arrived among them, driven in a four-wheeled carriage and dressed in broadcloth, they stared at him as at a visitor from a distant planet. Their ignorance of society, and, indeed, of almost every thing worthy to be called knowledge, appeared when he met the venerable parish clerk, who looked more ancient than the ruined parsonage house, and was the most important man in the village. After conversing awhile with his new minister, the wrinkled old man, with the natural shrewdness of a Yorkshireman, said, as he struck his crutch-stick on the ground: “Mees-

ter Smith, it often stroikes moy moind that people as comes frae London is such *fools*. But you, I see, are no fool!"

The clerk made no mistake in thus judging Sydney Smith, who was, indeed, no fool, but a man fully bent on acting the part, if not of an evangelical pastor, yet of a benefactor to his utterly uncultivated flock. It certainly is a pleasing picture to view this man, so eminently fitted by nature and education to shine as "a bright particular star" in the most refined social circles of the British metropolis, cheerfully going to work among those ignorant rustics, teaching them to improve their hard outward circumstances and to become wiser and better men. To do this he had first to become his own teacher in many things. To cultivate his glebe, consisting of three hundred acres, he had to study agriculture, cattle breeding, and dairy management. There being nothing but a mere hovel for a parsonage, he had, after considerable delay, to build a house with his own scanty means. In doing this he was his own architect, and while eschewing every principle of architectural beauty in its external appearance, he made its interior a model of coziness and convenience. To promote the material comfort of his parishioners he became their instructor in gardening and in matters relating to domestic economy. Hence this merry-hearted man, in addition to his own many family cares, was, as he described himself, "village parson, village doctor"—he had attended medical lectures in Edinburgh—"village comforter, village magistrate, and Edinburgh Reviewer."

That the rude inhabitants of Foston parish were benefited in mind and morals by Mr. Smith's labors is not to be questioned. His benevolence also won their affectionate regards. But concerning the spiritual results of his ministry his biographers are silent.

To most clergymen Foston would have proved the grave of their expectations of preferment. The ear of the great busy world could have caught no echoes from their humble and secluded pulpit. But this master of good-natured satire—this sagacious humanitarian—this prince of conversationalists—could not be hidden forever from public view even in the deep obscurity of that out-of-the-way spot. His fame as a witty talker and writer drew many distinguished visitors to his hospitable fireside, and, after the first six years of his rectorship, he

became a frequent and welcome guest in the mansions of the most aristocratic families in Yorkshire and Cheshire. Even some of his political opponents were attracted to him, and, despite his unflinching liberalism, became his personal friends. To know Sidney Smith was to love him. Lord Lyndhurst was one such friend, and, braving the resentment of his own party, he presented him, in 1828, with a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Bristol. His lordship did him still further service by procuring him an exchange of his Foston parish for Combe-Florey, near Tauriton, from which beautiful location, really a valley of flowers, he could readily reach Bristol. In 1831, the Whigs being again in office, Lord Grey appointed him to a prebendal stall in St. Paul's, London, in exchange for the one he held in Bristol. This was his highest preferment. His liberal opinions, especially his witty attacks on abuses in the Church, no doubt prevented his appointment to a bishopric. Dean Swift's wit had cost him a similar loss, albeit it is supposed that, if Lord Grey's administration had continued longer than it did, that liberal statesman would have defied existing prejudices and offered Sydney Smith a miter.

Mr. Smith's duties as canon of St. Paul's requiring him to reside in London part of each year, he was able once more to indulge his fondness for cultivated society. Holding honorable place in the Church, being in easy circumstances and in the enjoyment of good health, he was never more animated and brilliant in conversation. "It is hardly possible," said Lord John Russell, "to describe his manner or convey the slightest idea of what his powers really were, in their most brilliant moments, to those who have never witnessed them. In his peculiar style he has never been equaled, and perhaps will not be surpassed." When Sydney said to a lady, "Ah, you flavor every thing; you are the vanilla of society," he paid her a compliment which, applied to himself, would have been sober fact.

About three years before his death, Mr. Smith became a rich man by the death of his younger brother, Courtenay, who left him a third of the large fortune he had acquired in India. It came too late, however, to do him much other service than to enable him to enlarge his benevolences. He grew old cheerfully, and retained to the last his habit of uttering

fantastic jests. In the autumn before his death he said: "I feel so weak both in body and mind that I verily believe if the knife were put into my hand I should not have strength or energy enough to stick it into a dissenter." And when nearing his end, and alluding to the spare diet ordered by his physician, he smilingly said to General Fox: "Ah, Charles! I wish I were allowed even the wing of a roasted butterfly." In his last hours he spoke very little. On the 22d of February, 1845, he quietly passed into the realm of the departed.

Macaulay, giving his estimate of Sydney Smith, said: "He is universally admitted to have been a great reasoner, and the greatest master of ridicule that has appeared among us since Swift." In calling him "a great reasoner," Macaulay does not imply that he was either a deep or an original thinker, since a great reasoner is not necessarily a deep thinker, nor is a profound thinker always a great reasoner. Every student of Sydney Smith's published sermons and of his seventy-six Review articles knows that he was neither original nor profound in thought, but that the distinguishing feature of his mind was its marvelously quick and clear perceptive power. To this faculty he was indebted for the rare transparency of his statements and his remarkable proficiency in "the art of putting things." His mind was logical, therefore he generally reasoned correctly; but, always excepting his witty forms of speech, he invented little or nothing. His articles mostly dealt with questions of fact, with social and legal barbarisms which offended both his strong sense of "justice and his uncommon common sense." Seizing on what was cruel or unjust in the then existing laws on poaching, on the trials of prisoners, on the exclusion of Romanists and dissenters from state offices, on the use of man-traps for the protection of property, etc., he first stated the facts in each case so clearly as to almost render argument unnecessary. He then proceeded to denounce the wrong with such pitiless invective, and to hold up its absurdity with such rasping, yet mirth-provoking satire, as almost compelled his readers to laugh at the latter and to feel indignant at the former. His favorite logical weapon was the *reductio ad absurdum*, and with his keen sense of the ridiculous he made it irresistible. He also treated prevailing barbarous usages, such as the cruelties practiced on boy chimney-

sweeps, etc., in the same way. Most of the evils he assailed being repugnant to men's sense of justice, and to the spirit of kindness which the great religious revival of the preceding century had begotten in the public mind, his strong reasoning, no doubt, contributed to their overthrow. Because of this vigorous use of his powers he deserves honorable place among the political and social reformers of his times.

Macaulay's estimate of his wit challenges a comparison between him and Dean Swift, whose claim to the first place in English literature as a witty writer few, if any, will dispute. He ranks Smith in this quality next to the irascible Dean. We are not disposed to dispute this claim, nor to compare him with Sheridan, Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Thackeray, or other modern men of wit. But it cannot be denied with truth that Smith's humor winds like a belt of light through his essays, and glimmers mildly in his sermons. And to cite Mr. Reid, "his talk was like a stream of fire-works, brilliant, incessant, and perfectly harmless. His wit, though less incisive and keen than that of Swift, was superior to it in its spirit. Swift's wit was bitter and malignant; Smith's, except when leveled at the evangelical party of his times, was genial and good-natured, the outflow of his heart, which was a perennial fountain of cheerfulness. It was also in the main free from coarseness and vulgarity, while Swift's was often coarse and even filthy. Smith's wit was often grotesque, as when anticipating the birth of his first child, he said, "I hope it will be a girl, and that she may be born with one eye that I may never lose her;" and as when at a dinner table, while discussing liberalism, he said, "I must confess I have one little weakness, one secret wish—I should like to roast a Quaker"—a jest intended to excite the wonder of a very simple-minded guest whose dullness prevented him from seeing that the mirthful parson was only jesting. Sometimes his wit was a shaft of keen, though good-natured, sarcasm, as when, while canon of St. Paul's, discussing the question in the Chapter of placing a wooden pavement round St. Paul's, he said with innocent gravity of tone and expression, "If my reverend brethren here will but lay their heads together the thing will be done in a trice." Exaggeration was also a large ingredient in his wit, as when on being told that his friend Jeffrey had been made Lord Advocate of Scotland he

remarked, in allusion to the judge's diminutive size, "His robes will cost him little; one buck rabbit will clothe him to his heels." One of his best witticisms flashed from his lips when, remarking on his many battles for reform, he said, "The whole of my life has passed like a razor—in hot water or a scrape." This was genuine wit, in that, by using two words in a double sense, he disclosed a relation between the uses to which a razor is put and the conditions under which his life had been passed, which no ordinary mind could have perceived, and which excited an emotion of pleased surprise because it was so unexpected and yet so real.

Smith's wit did not smell of the lamp, but was spontaneous, as all true wit must be. He was, as Leigh Hunt said of Rossini, "the genius of animal spirits," out of which his jests bubbled like water from a perennial spring, though he no doubt unconsciously cultivated it, by training his mind to look for occult relations between things apparently unrelated. Hence, he was always full of it, and it flowed from his lips as freely at his own fireside as in the gay assemblies at Holland House. Said Lord Macaulay, after spending a few days with him at Foston rectory: "He is not one of those show talkers who reserve all their good things for special occasions. It seems to be his greatest luxury to keep his wife and daughters laughing for two or three hours every day."

To his credit it must be said that, as a rule, Sydney used this gift in the interests of humanity and as "the vehicle of his wisdom."

"Laughing to teach the truth—  
What hinders? As some teachers give to boys  
Junkets and knacks that they may learn apace."

His only serious abuse of this endowment was, as hinted above, his persistent tirades against spiritual religion, upon which he leveled his bitterest jokes, in doing which he illustrated the Greek proverb, "Mirth out of season is a grievous ill." Never, perhaps, did a clergyman more significantly illustrate Paul's assertion, that to comprehend spiritual things one must possess that "discernment" which is the exclusive possession of a "spiritually minded" man. Sydney Smith was not such a man. He did not profess to be one, but persistently denounced experimental piety,

believing it, as he said, "to be very possible to be a good Christian without degrading the human understanding to such trash and folly as Methodism." No doubt he was as good a Christian as mere belief in Christianity, without that trust which begets spiritual affections, can make a man. He was eminently moral, intellectually religious, observant of the forms of Christian worship, but apparently not the possessor of that inner spiritual life which is begotten and sustained by what Paul described as "Christ in you the hope of glory." On no other ground can one harmonize his bitter and even profane attacks on evangelical churchmen and dissenters with his honesty. And it is one of the creditable features of Mr. Reid's book that he not only does not defend Mr. Smith in this thing, but squarely censures him:

He was a man who never approached certain subjects without displaying the fact that his mind was warped, so far as they were concerned, by invincible prejudice. But although he completely misunderstood the Wesleyan revival and grossly caricatured the splendid efforts of the non-conformist churches to awaken the religious enthusiasm of the people in the work of foreign missions, it cannot be questioned, in spite of such blemishes on his reputation, that his influence as a whole was given steadily and at much personal cost to the advocacy of the very principles of toleration which have now triumphed to such an extent that his own essays on the dissenters and their missionary schemes are little more than a magazine of exploded fallacies, and read like the record of an archaic period. Sydney Smith misunderstood the evangelical enthusiasm, and refused to separate the chaff of fanaticism from the wheat of self-sacrifice, but his sweeping tirades have long since been refuted by experience, and aggressive work in heathen lands forms now a recognized sphere of activity among Christians of every shade of conviction, and, judged by its fruits, is unassailable.

This is frank and honorable. It was due to the parties Smith so ruthlessly assailed, and does no injustice to the memory of Mr. Smith, who, despite his faults, will long be remembered for his humor, admired for his courage, respected for his abilities, and esteemed for his benevolence. Despite the inconsistency of his excessive, frolicsome, incessant humor with his clerical office, one cannot help loving the merry-hearted man. Neither can one who believes Christianity to be not only a doctrine and a code of ethics, but also a life having its seat in

the affections, help regretting that this highly gifted man, whom many "wise men loved, and even wits admired," did not add to his humane benevolence, his unquestionable moral courage, his obvious sincerity, his manly independence, and his unique literary ability the crowning glory of a "life hid with Christ in God." Had he done so, his reputation as a minister might have been equal to his fame as a reviewer.

Mr. Reid's sketch of Sydney Smith's "Life and Times" is very entertaining reading. As a biography, it is more complete, more satisfactory, and more artistically constructed than Lady Holland's "Memoirs." It gives a clearer view of Smith's happy domestic life, of his clerical labors, of his opposition to Puseyism, and of his influence on his times. While it does not do away with one's impression that, for a clergyman, he lived far too much in an atmosphere of merriment and laughter, and was too tolerant of worldly amusements, it nevertheless so portrays the serious work of his life, while keeping its playful side somewhat in the background, as to give him a more assured place in public opinion among men who have honestly and successfully wrought for the improvement of society. Mr. Reid has also given variety and value to his work by his graphic notes on many of the distinguished men with whom Sydney Smith was associated. It is a charming volume, a valuable addition to our biographical literature, and a desirable addendum to its subject's "Memoirs" by Lady Holland.

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#### ART. V.—"THE DOCTRINE OF THE FATHERS."

THE question whether there is an order of bishops distinct from and superior to the order of presbyters has long agitated the Christian Church. This question is not devoid of real interest, and in view of the practical matters involved, it is a very important one, and especially so as to what views the Methodist Episcopal Church holds, and has held, upon the subject. In its ecclesiastical use, the word "order" has a very different meaning from the word "office." An "order" has certain rights and privileges that inhere in itself—are its *prerogatives*, and therefore are exclusive and inalienable; while an "office"

is endowed with only such *functions* as may be vested in it by the authority that created it. Nor is any one of any given order, if elected to an office within the scope and sphere of his order, thereby elevated to another and higher order.

No one who is familiar with the history and organism of the Methodist Episcopal Church will deny that it recognizes the clerical order, and also a distinction between order and office. Its one complete ministerial order is that of an elder; but it has also the office of presiding elder, thus practically discriminating between office and order. It recognizes the presiding elder as in office over other elders, but of the same order, and from this fact may be started the inquiry, whether the episcopacy is not of the same order, though superior in office to all other elders?

Our study of the question will be historical, and the main purpose will be to ascertain how the episcopacy was viewed by those who originated or first received it. Of the teaching of the Founder of Methodism, Dr. Abel Stevens gives the following summary:

That Wesley, while he believed in episcopacy, belonged to that class of Episcopalian who contend that episcopacy is not a distinct "order" (in the usual technical or ecclesiastical sense of the term), but a distinct office, in the ministry; that bishops and presbyters, or elders, are of the same order, and have essentially the same prerogatives; but that for convenience some of this order may be raised to the episcopal office, and some of the functions originally pertaining to the whole order, as ordination, for example, may be confined to them; the presbyter thus elevated being but *primus inter pares*—the first among equals—a presiding officer.\*

Before the war of the Revolution, the Rev. John Wesley was the governmental head of the Methodists in America as well as in Europe. He was the supreme authority, and his word was law. After the war, the American Methodists still acknowledged his authority, and in 1784 Mr. Wesley asserted it by appointing the Rev. Thomas Coke, D.C.L., who was a presbyter of the Church of England, and Francis Asbury, who was a preacher in America, to be Superintendents, as before he had appointed Thomas Rankin and Francis Asbury to be his General Assistants in directing the work of Methodism in America.

\* Stevens's "History of Methodism," vol. ii, p. 221.

Mr. Wesley, though only a presbyter, set apart Dr. Coke to his designated work with prayer and imposition of hands. This act has been severely criticised and denounced as an absurdity, but the Rev. Richard Watson has justly remarked,

This "absurdity" could not arise from the principle which Mr. Wesley had adopted, namely, that the orders were identical, and the censure, therefore, rests only upon the assumption that bishops and priests were of different orders, which he denied. He never did pretend to ordain bishops in the modern sense, but only according to his view of primitive episcopacy.\*

His action in setting apart a presbyter to the work of a Superintendent could not, therefore, mean the conferring of a higher order. In appointing these Superintendents, Mr. Wesley did not mean to give up his authority over the American Methodists any more than he did when he previously appointed his Assistants. He now uses a different name—that of Superintendent—for his "Assistants," to whom he delegated larger powers, but it is evident that he still intended to control the Superintendents as formerly he had the Assistants.

Now that Mr. Wesley, a presbyter, considered himself superior to the Superintendents he had appointed, including Dr. Coke, whom he had solemnly set apart, shows that he did not deem a Superintendent to be of higher ministerial order than a presbyter, as manifestly it would have been inconsistent for one of a lower to exercise authority over one of a superior order. The fact that he appointed them, directed them, and himself set one of them apart, was an assertion of his superiority in authority, and, of course, his not inferiority of order. Acting under Wesley's orders, and armed with his commission as Superintendent, Dr. Coke came to America in the autumn of 1784. At Asbury's suggestion, the preachers in the United States were called together, and met in Conference on the twenty-fourth of December; and this Conference, which lasted about ten days, has been called "the Christmas Conference," on account of the season in which it convened.

Superintendent Coke presided, and his first official act was the presentation of Wesley's Circular Letter, which was read to the Conference. This letter was, so to speak, the charter under which the Conference acted. It declared in unmistakable

\* Watson's "Life of Wesley," American edition, p. 247.

terms the parity of bishops and presbyters as to order, for in it Mr. Wesley said : "Lord King's Account of the Primitive Church convinced me many years ago that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain."

With such a declaration so explicitly made, the members of the Christmas Conference could not have supposed Wesley was giving them an episcopacy which was higher in order than the eldership. That there might be no doubt as to Mr. Wesley's relation to the American Methodists and their relation to him, this Conference formally adopted the following :

During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel, ready, in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands.

Having thus acknowledged him as the supreme authority in ecclesiastical affairs, they must have accepted his doctrine as to the episcopacy.

The Christmas Conference, in acknowledging Wesley as supreme "in matters belonging to church government," recognized a presbyter as the chief authority in the Church. That they so recognized a presbyter as supreme, even over the Superintendents, shows that they did not esteem their superintendency or episcopacy an order above the eldership, for certainly they would not make one of an inferior order superior in authority to those of a higher order.

This Conference also made and placed in the Minutes this resolve : "We will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of Superintendents," etc. As they accepted the very title Superintendent, which Wesley had given, as well as the men he had appointed, the only reasonable supposition is, that they accepted the superintendency in the sense Wesley intended ; and, as his declaration was "that bishops and presbyters are the *same order*," they could not have understood that he was giving and they were receiving any officers of a higher order than that of presbyters ; and, if so, they must have understood the word Superintendent as indicating, not an order, but an office.

This is further indicated by the fact that they voted Asbury to be a Superintendent before he had become either elder or

deacon. Both Coke and Asbury were Superintendents, so far as Mr. Wesley could make them such, without any vote of the Conference. This was not disputed by the Conference, and Asbury did not deny the legality and sufficiency of his appointment by Wesley alone, who was the supreme head of Methodism; but he desired the indorsement of the preachers whom he was to superintend. So he was unanimously chosen, and Coke was unanimously accepted by the Conference; which was also a recognition by the Conference of some kind or degree of authority over the case.

That Wesley should make a man not in orders a Superintendent, shows that he did not consider the position an order; and the action of the Conference in electing a man Superintendent before he was in orders, shows that the Conference did not look upon the superintendency as an order.

That they so understood it, in connection with the points already given, is plain, because they officially defined it to be an office, while they never speak of the *order* of bishops or superintendents. Jesse Lee, the first historian of American Methodism, and well-informed respecting all these transactions, says: "At this Conference we formed ourselves into a regular Church by the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church, making at the same time the episcopal office elective."\* The early Minutes (1785) also use the same word "*office*," and speak of the position as the "*episcopal office*." Indeed, as Lee and the Minutes show, the early Church never spoke of the episcopacy as an order, nor as an order *and* an office, but solely as an *office*, which they made elective; and the only conclusion which can be drawn is, that they did not consider their episcopacy a distinct and higher order, but simply an office of superintendency.

Not only did they organize by "making the episcopal office elective," as Lee and the Minutes say, but, as the same authorities declare, they made "the elected Superintendents amenable to the body of ministers and preachers." Now it is to be remembered that this Conference, and all the early General Conferences, were composed of all the preachers, whether they were elders or not. When the Christmas Conference opened there were only three, including Superintendent Coke, who had received elder's orders; and even after others were ordained at

\* Lee's "History of the Methodists," p. 94.

this Conference, "the body of the ministers and preachers" was composed mainly of unordained men. That they made "the elected Superintendents amenable to the body of ministers and preachers," many of whom had no orders at all, shows that they could not have regarded their superintendency in the light of a ministerial order, but rather as an executive office. On the idea of simply an office there was some reason in all having a voice in the election of a Superintendent, because all were to be superintended by him; and so, for the same reason, there was propriety in his being responsible to them; but the thing would be an ecclesiastical absurdity, if the superintendency were a higher order, for the Superintendent to be amenable to those of a lower order and to those who had no orders at all.

Even if the Conference had been composed entirely of elders, this amenability would imply that the Superintendents were not of a higher order, and such amenability could only be on the ground that the superintendency was merely an office of an executive or jurisdictional character, and hence, responsible to the body which created it.

But it may be objected, that writers of that day say that Mr. Asbury was "ordained" Superintendent, and that the American Methodists had received from Mr. Wesley a service entitled "The Form of Ordaining a Superintendent." That the word "ordain" was used may be admitted, but the nature of the service is not to be interpreted by the name so much as the name is to be interpreted by the declared intention of the service; and the question now at issue is not about words, but whether this service was intended to place the presbyter in a higher order.

Mr. Wesley, who gave the service, could not have intended it in that sense, for he held that there was no higher order than the eldership, and said, at the very time he gave them the service, that "bishops and presbyters are the same order." That the Christmas Conference held Wesley's view is asserted by Bishop Simpson in his "Cyclopedia of Methodism." Referring to Wesley's ordination of Whatecoat and Vasey as elders, and his setting apart of Coke as Superintendent, he says :

This ordination was performed because, according to his view of the primitive episcopacy, bishops and presbyters were of the same order. This view was entertained by the ministers who met in

conference or convention in 1784, and organized the Methodist Episcopal Church.\*

So the Conference, accepting this view from its supreme ecclesiastical authority, could not suppose that in using such a service they were giving any order above the eldership when they did not believe there was any higher order. With this view, even if they did use the word "ordain" in this connection, they could only have used it and understood it in a peculiar sense as qualified by the idea that no higher order could be conferred, and, therefore, they could look upon the superintendency only as an office—"the episcopal office," as they termed it—and the ceremony simply as a formal service of installation inducting the elected person, in an appropriate and solemn manner, into that office.

It may be said that the service which does not place in a higher order is not an ordination, and, therefore, the word should not have been used. To that objection we reply, that a writer has a right to use a word in a peculiar sense if he so qualifies it, as Wesley did in this case, that his meaning is manifest. The word is to be defined by the thing, and not the thing by the word, especially when it is guarded and qualified by a precise declaration.

The most that can be made out of the use of the word "ordination" in this connection, by those who would restrict its meaning, is, that those who so used it were not exact in their language. Indeed, we are not to be surprised that even Mr. Wesley should lack precision in this very thing, for the service for the American Methodists was evidently prepared in haste. Their intention in using the word is to be explained in the light of clear and positive declarations. As they held that "bishops and presbyters are the same order," it cannot be supposed that any service they applied to a presbyter, even if they called it an ordination, was an ecclesiastical ordination in the sense of conferring a higher order. It must have been a qualified "ordination"—using the term in a lower sense—and so did not give any higher order to one who was already a presbyter.

Dr. Coke, in a foot-note to his sermon delivered when Asbury was formally inducted into the superintendency, says in reference to his use of the phrase, "bishop of the Church

\* Art. "Methodist Episcopacy."

of Philadelphia," "I here use the word *bishop* in its present sense, as signifying an officer of the Church superior to the presbyters." \* In his mind a bishop is an *officer* who is superior as such to the presbyters, as may also be seen by the fact that in the certificate he gave Asbury, Coke, though Superintendent, styles himself "a presbyter," showing that he recognized that to be his *order*, while the superintendency (whose functions he was then exercising) was his office. So in the certificate there is not a word about an episcopal order, but the simple statement that he "did set apart the said Francis Asbury for the office of a Superintendent." † All these facts show that Coke, and the Conference which organized the Methodist Episcopal Church, held views that harmonized with the teaching of Wesley, that bishops were the same in order as presbyters, and viewed the episcopacy as a superior office.

Leaving the first, we pass to a subsequent General Conference. Mr. Wesley had written to Dr. Coke requesting him to call a General Conference to meet at Baltimore on the first of May, 1787. The call was issued, and the Conference convened at that time.

In the same letter to Dr. Coke, Mr. Wesley indicated his reason for desiring the Conference, namely, "that Mr. Richard Whatecoat may be appointed Superintendent with Mr. Francis Asbury." Thus the presbyter who was at the head of the Church issued his orders and named the man he desired to have act as Superintendent. Mr. Wesley considered this his right, and the Conference at which the organization had been made had agreed, "in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands."

The Conference understood Wesley to direct that Whatecoat be made Superintendent, though Wesley's order was couched in courteous terms. Lee says: "Mr. Wesley also directed that Richard Whatecoat should be ordained a joint Superintendent with Mr. Asbury." ‡ Dr. Coke also understood Mr. Wesley as ordering the selection of Whatecoat as Superintendent. As Lee says: "Dr. Coke contended that we were obliged to receive Mr. Whatecoat, because [of what] we had said in the Minutes taken at the Christmas Conference."

\* "Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review," July, 1840.

† Bangs's "History of Methodism," vol. i, p. 157. ‡ Lee's History, p. 126.

Most of the preachers, however, objected to having Whatecoat made a Superintendent, and the strongest reason seems to have been that given by Lee: "That they were apprehensive that if Whatecoat was ordained Mr. Wesley would recall Mr. Asbury, and he would return to England." \* This was another recognition of the fact that Wesley claimed supreme authority over the Superintendents, and a clear implication that Asbury could not have been in order above a presbyter when he was under a presbyter's control.

Wesley had evidently in some way given an intimation of an intention of removing Asbury from the superintendency and recalling him to England. Asbury, in a letter he wrote the Rev. Joseph Benson some time after this, said of Mr. Wesley:

He rigidly contended for a special and independent right of governing the chief minister or ministers of our order, which in our judgment meant not only to put him out of office, but to remove him from the continent to elsewhere that our father saw fit.†

This shows not only Presbyter Wesley's estimate of his authority, but also his opinion that a Superintendent occupying the "episcopal office" could be removed from the position at his pleasure and that without any cause, such as crime or improper conduct, being alleged,—a view which cannot be harmonized with the notion of the superintendency as a higher order, but which is compatible with the idea of the episcopacy as an office.

In this letter to Benson, and in this very connection, Mr. Asbury speaks of "the right of electing every Church officer, and more especially our Superintendent," which shows that Asbury looked upon the superintendency as an office and the Superintendent as an officer, and his remark that Wesley's claim "meant to put him out of office," implies the same idea.

The outcome of the whole matter was, that notwithstanding the agreement made at the Christmas Conference to obey Mr. Wesley "in matters belonging to Church government," the General Conference of 1787 refused to have Whatecoat as a Superintendent. Recognizing the apparent awkwardness of their position they went further, and struck out the record of

\* Lee's History, p. 126.

† Atkinson's "Centennial History of American Methodism," p. 57.

the agreement, and also removed Mr. Wesley's name from the Minutes.

It is not in the line of our theme to discuss the wisdom or propriety of thus cutting the Gordian knot, but good came out of it. The spirit of the American Revolution evidently seemed to be on the Conference. It was another declaration of independence. It was a revolution, and to Wesley it seemed as a rebellion. It was an emphatic declaration by the General Conference that it meant to be above him who was superior to its Superintendent, and that the General Conference would not permit any executive power or official authority to be above itself; and in making their decision, they actually deposed Wesley, their chief Superintendent, and this assertion by the ministers implies that they recognized no higher order than that which was possessed by the members on the floor of the Conference.

This action was a heavy blow to Wesley, who complained because Asbury did not exert himself to avert it, saying that "Mr. Asbury quietly sat by until his friends, by common consent, voted my name out of the American Minutes."

Another troublesome question before the General Conference of 1787 was one raised in regard to Dr. Coke. The doctor had been out of the country, and while abroad had undertaken to exercise his functions as Superintendent in America. The preachers were dissatisfied with this, and, at this Conference, vigorously expressed their discontent. Lee says:

The preachers complained of Dr. Coke, because he had taken upon himself a right which they never gave him, of altering the time and place of holding our Conferences, after it had been settled and fixed on at a previous Conference. . . . At that time the doctor saw that the preachers were pretty generally united against him; he acknowledged his faults, begged pardon, and promised not to meddle with our affairs again when he was out of the United States. He then gave a certificate to the same purpose.

The preachers then agreed to forgive what was past, provided this condition should be expressed in the Minutes, which was done thus:

"*Q.* Who are the Superintendents of our Church for the United States? *A.* Thomas Coke (when present in the States) and Francis Asbury."\*

\* Lee's History, p. 124.

This shows that the General Conference held that it was superior to the Superintendents—that while they were Superintendents of the Church the General Conference superintended them. That presbyters, and preachers who had not attained even that order, could call a Superintendent to account and direct his official action, shows that they did not look upon the superintendency as a higher order, with its higher *prerogatives*, but as an office, with only its definite *functions*. That Dr. Coke acquiesced in their procedure would seem to show that he admitted their right and held the same view as to his position.

That the General Conference took a Superintendent to task “because he had taken upon himself a right which they never gave him,” shows not only that a Superintendent had no right to do any thing that was not specified in the Discipline, but also that to his position attached no power excepting that which the General Conference expressly and explicitly delegated (and which they could at any time recall), which is quite consistent with the idea of an office, but not so with that of a higher ministerial order.

This General Conference asserted also the right to limit a Superintendent's jurisdiction, and to limit the exercise of his functions after he had been elected, and that though for years he had occupied the “episcopal office.” It declared Dr. Coke a Superintendent only in the United States; that when he went out of the United States he lost all power of superintendency, and if he stayed out he ceased to be a Superintendent. Now, if the superintendency had been an order, Dr. Coke must have carried it with him every-where, for this is one of the peculiar characteristics of an order as contrasted with an office. Thus a presbyter is a presbyter always, and the order goes with him upon whom it has been conferred wherever he goes, unless he be entirely deposed from the ministry. That they limited the superintendency, as in the case of Coke, shows that the General Conference did not look upon it as an order, but as an office.

One educated as Coke had been, and knowing the rights of religious orders, would not have so yielded had he considered the superintendency to be an order. That he considered it simply an office appears also from the fact that in the written agreement he gave in this matter he uses the expression,

"By virtue of my office as Superintendent of the Methodist Church." \*

Subsequently to the General Conference of 1787, but in the same year, "Mr. Asbury reprinted the General Minutes; but somewhat changed from what they were before." In these Minutes the title of Bishop was first used. Lee says:

This was the first time our Superintendents ever gave themselves the title of Bishops in the Minutes. They changed the title themselves, without the consent of the Conference; and at the next Conference they asked the preachers if the word *Bishop* might stand in the Minutes, seeing that it was a Scripture name, and the meaning of the word *Bishop* was the same with that of Superintendent. Some of the preachers opposed the alteration and wished to retain the former title; but a majority of the preachers agreed to let the word *Bishop* remain; and in the Annual Minutes for the next year the first question is, "Who are the Bishops of our Church for the United States?" †

Admitting that both titles mean the same thing (which, how, ever, is not the case in their relations to ecclesiastical affairs)—nevertheless it was an act of usurpation for Asbury, or Asbury and Coke, to change a title which had been adopted by the Church, without first obtaining the consent of that Church. Had the title Superintendent remained unchanged, in all probability the question as to whether the Methodist episcopacy was an order above the eldership never would have been raised, for the name Superintendent would not have suggested the idea of order, but of office.

Still it is to be remembered that the change of the name did not change the thing, and it was expressly declared that "the meaning of the word *Bishop* was the same with that of Superintendent," so making the latter interpret and limit the meaning of the former, as used in this case. So the equivalent title Superintendent still stands in some places in the Discipline; and since the change of title the Bishops have frequently referred to themselves as the General Superintendents, and the Conference which assented to the change explained its action by inserting in the Minutes the following note:

As the translators of our version of the Bible have used the English word *Bishop* instead of *Superintendent*, it has been thought by us that it would appear more scriptural to adopt their term, *Bishop*.

\* Bangs's History, vol. i, p. 257.

† Lee's History, pp. 127, 128.

When the official designation was changed from Superintendent to Bishop, Wesley expressed his dissatisfaction in a most emphatic manner. Probably because he supposed or knew that Asbury was the prime mover in the matter, he wrote him a most scathing letter. In this letter Wesley says to Asbury :

One instance of this [your greatness] has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called Bishop? . . . Men may call me a *knav* or a *fool*, a *rascal*, a *scoundrel*, and I am content; but they shall never by my consent call me *Bishop*. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this! \*

It may be that Wesley's preference for the title Superintendent was to avoid the danger of prelatical notions which many attached to the word Bishop, and which had become inseparably associated with it in ecclesiastical literature and in the public mind; but the change of the name made no change in the thing; it was confessed that it here represented the same kind of superintendency that the Church had before.

The Rev. Richard Watson, referring to Wesley's objection to the change, says :

The only objection he could have to the name was, that from long association it was likely to convey a meaning beyond his own intention. But this was a matter of mere prudential feeling confined to himself: so that neither are Dr. Coke nor Mr. Asbury to be blamed for using that appellation (bishop) in Mr. Wesley's sense, which was the same as presbyter as far as order was concerned, nor the American societies (as they have sometimes inconsiderately been), for calling themselves, in the same view, "The American Methodist Episcopal Church," since their episcopacy is founded upon the principle of bishops and presbyters being of the same *degree*—a more extended *office* only being assigned to the former, as in the primitive Church.†

In the Discipline of 1787 another change of some importance was made, probably by the person or persons who changed the official title. The question and answer in which it was said "We will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of superintendents, elders, deacons, and helpers," etc., were stricken out, and a section "On the Nature and Constitution of our Church" was introduced. In this a reason is given why the American Methodists are no longer connected with

\* Wesley's Works, vol. vii, p. 187.

† Watson's "Life of Wesley," American edition, p. 247.

the Church of England, and why they do not unite with its successor.

In this section a contrast is drawn between the kind of Church they propose and the Church of England and its successor in the United States, and especially between the Methodist episcopacy and the episcopacy of the aforementioned Churches. It contains a positive rejection of the doctrine of apostolic succession, and states that "as we are persuaded that the uninterrupted succession of bishops can be proved neither from Scripture nor antiquity, we therefore have constituted ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of bishops, elders, deacons, and preachers," etc. It also affirms that "the most excellent mode of Church government, according to our maturest judgment, is that of a moderate episcopacy."

The whole tenor of the passage is a contrast between the episcopal government they had chosen, and that of the Church of England and the new Protestant Episcopal Church; and, in the light of this and of other facts before mentioned, the legitimate inference must be, that that which they called their "moderate episcopacy" rejected all notions of a higher order.

The main point in view at that time, however, was a denial of apostolic succession. Others claimed, that to be a Church it was necessary to have the succession from the apostles; but they claimed that this doctrine was untenable, and therefore could not stand in the way of their forming a new Church. They evidently conceded the divine right of the order of elders, and they recognized no order above this.

Two years after this, in 1789, this declaration was stricken out and another statement in the form of question and answer was substituted. This change, which was made probably by the same party or parties, had a new purpose, namely, to show the source of the episcopal authority in the new Church, and to declare their belief that it was proper and valid. The question propounded was as follows: "Ques. 1. What is the proper origin of the episcopal authority in our Church?" and the purpose of this question is to be kept before us in interpreting the answer. The answer states, in substance, that they trace its origin to the Rev. John Wesley, "the father of the great revival of religion now extending over the earth by the means of the Methodists;" that he sent over "three regularly ordained clergy,"

and, hence, even in a churchly sense, their ordination was not irregular, but had a "proper origin;" that he solemnly set apart by the imposition of his hands and prayer one of them, namely, Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, late of Jesus College in the University of Oxford, for the episcopal office."

It will be noticed here, and throughout this paragraph, that the office in question is not called an order, but "the episcopal office," which phrase occurs no less than three times.

It is to be observed, further, that the source of their episcopacy to which they point is presbyterial. No one of any higher order than that of a presbyter takes part. Wesley is a presbyter, and so is each one who assists him in setting apart Dr. Coke to "the episcopal office," and the American Methodists declare they are "fully satisfied with the validity" of this procedure by presbyters. No one ordained to any higher order than that of presbyter took part, and, consequently, according even to higher order ideas, no higher order was conferred.

Dr. Coke could not have been admitted to any higher order, though he was set apart for the work of an office, for Wesley, who set him apart, affirmed that there was no higher order than that of presbyter. So Superintendent Coke remained a presbyter, and, as this paragraph states, Wesley "commissioned and directed him to set apart Francis Asbury, then General Assistant of the Methodist Society in America, for the same episcopal office; he, the said Francis Asbury, being first ordained deacon and elder." This was done, Dr. Coke officiating, and "other regularly ordained ministers assisting in the sacred ceremony."

It will be observed that the point here is, that Asbury received his episcopal ordination "in regular succession" from Wesley, and his jurisdiction from the Conference; and it is to be noticed that in this paragraph a distinction is made between an ordination and the service inducting one into the superintendency. Of Asbury it is said, that he was "ordained deacon and elder," but it is not said he was "ordained" Superintendent, but that he was "*set apart* for the said episcopal office." This change of the form of words suggests an incidental recognition of a difference between ordaining one a presbyter and setting apart a presbyter for the "episcopal office."

The statement in relation to Dr. Coke, that Wesley, "having

delivered to him letters of episcopal orders, commissioned and directed him to set apart Francis Asbury," should receive some consideration. The question may arise whether the phrase "letters of episcopal orders" means that the episcopacy is a higher order than the eldership?

It has been clearly shown that the Methodist Episcopal Church from the first regarded the superintendency as an office, and not as an order different from and higher than the eldership, and this cannot be neutralized by any doubtful phraseology. They had accepted the Wesleyan doctrine, that as to ministerial order a bishop was merely a presbyter, and here they speak of the episcopacy as an office. This phrase cannot be construed according to higher-order notions, for that would make the writers of the paragraph guilty of falsification in asserting that which was contrary to the facts; for the fact is, that Wesley never did give any letter certifying to a higher order, or calling the episcopacy an order at all. The Protestant Episcopal Church has, at the head of its form of certificate, the words "Letter of Orders," but no such phrase is connected with Wesley's testimonial letter. In the body of its form that Church says of one made a bishop that he was "*ordained and consecrated*" a bishop, but nothing of the nature of an order in Coke's superintendency is intimated in Wesley's letter.

In the testimonial letter there is nothing about an episcopal order or episcopal orders. Even the word "ordination" is not used in connection with Coke, but the phrase "set apart;" neither is bishop or even "episcopal office" used, but simply "Superintendent." Its form is, "I have this day set apart as a Superintendent," etc.\* Thus the letter itself shows that it is not in any higher-order sense "letters of episcopal orders," but simply a testimonial letter given by Wesley certifying that he had set Coke apart as a Superintendent.

To be consistent with himself, this is all that Wesley could have intended; it is all that could fairly have been meant by those who used the phrase in question, and this is evidently what the paragraph shows it to mean. The whole purport is, not to show whether the episcopacy is a higher order, but merely to designate the "origin of the episcopal authority in our Church," and so it affirms that Wesley, having appointed

\* Bangs's "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. i, p. 155.

and set apart Coke as Superintendent, gave him a letter to that effect. The phrase, therefore, must have been used in a modified sense, and as a warrant of supervisory authority.

The concluding part of the paragraph may also demand a passing notice. It says that the Conference "did unanimously receive" Coke and Asbury, "being fully satisfied of the validity of their episcopal ordination;" but there is in this nothing that teaches that the episcopacy was a higher order than the eldership, any more than there was in Wesley's giving a service for the "Ordaining of Superintendents," which he qualified by saying, "bishops and presbyters are the same order," or the use of the same word in regard to the setting apart of Superintendents by the Christmas Conference when its members accepted the same qualification.

As we have seen, the so-called "ordination," as it was qualified, amounted to nothing more than a formal induction into official duty, and, for the same reasons, it must be so understood here. Even in this paragraph the word "ordination," as used at the close, is qualified by its equivalent "set apart" "to the episcopal office," which is used in every instance in regard to Coke and Asbury's entrance into their special work, and of course it fails to give any legitimate support to the higher-order idea.

We conclude, therefore, that when Wesley set apart Coke, he did not mean to confer on him any higher order; and when Asbury was set apart, the doctrine of the parity of bishops and presbyters, as to orders, was admitted; so that the use of the word "ordination," here, in regard to Coke and Asbury, can mean nothing more than it meant when Wesley used it, and it must therefore be understood with the same limitation.

Again, it must be borne in mind that the discussion is not as to whether the episcopacy is an order or an office, but as to the source of the "episcopal authority of Coke and Asbury," thus involving the idea of office rather than of ministerial order. The object is to assert the validity of the Methodist episcopacy, that though presbyterial in its origin it is just as valid as any other, and its Bishops are just as legitimately and genuinely bishops as are those of any other Church. They were properly appointed, properly elected, and properly set apart; and

though all this was done by presbyters and not by bishops of a so-called higher order, and claiming apostolic succession, the members of the Conference were satisfied of its validity, and fully believed that it had a "proper origin."

At this Conference (1789) the name of Mr. Wesley was restored to the Minutes, evidently to mitigate his displeasure on account of its omission; and though there may be room for doubt as to what is meant by "the regular order and succession" in which they are placed, there can be none respecting "the episcopal office."

Wesley was in order a presbyter, and nothing more, for in the testimonial he gave Coke he calls himself a "presbyter of the Church of England." Surely these early Methodists could not have understood the episcopacy to be an order higher than the eldership, or they would not have placed or recognized a presbyter, as Wesley certainly was, in that position. Yet here they recognize "Presbyter" Wesley as in the "episcopal office," and place his name before the names of "Bishop" Coke and "Bishop" Asbury.

Further, it is evident that they laid no stress upon the service which had been styled an ordination, and that they did not consider that Wesley's setting apart of Coke, or that the so-called "ordination" of Asbury, gave any higher order, for they recognized Wesley, who never had been so set apart by any "sacred ceremony" for the episcopacy, and who never had received any ordination above that of the eldership, as not only the equal but the superior of Coke and Asbury, who had been specially set apart with religious service. The service of setting apart, or the so-called "ordination," was not, therefore, considered as having any virtue as to giving any higher order, but must have been looked upon as a not essential though appropriate ceremony, which left the presbyter to whom it was applied as to ministerial order neither more nor less than "an elder in the Church of God."

With them, a bishop was a presbyter in authority over other presbyters; and if the superintending presbyter exercised such power, he was a true *episcopos* whether he had or had not been subject to a special setting apart, and whether he had or had not been formally elected to that position. Wesley had neither been formally elected nor set apart to a higher order; and so,

the ruling idea must have been that the bishopric was not an order, but an office occupied by a presbyter.

This single fact, that in the very year the aforementioned paragraph was introduced, Mr. Wesley was recognized as the chief *episcopos* of Methodism, relieves any obscure expression it may contain, and dissipates any doubt such an expression might create; so that "letters of episcopal orders" cannot be understood as implying any higher order than that of presbyter, for no higher order was recognized.

At the Conference of 1792 occurred the schism led by James O'Kelly. Though he did not withdraw on account of the nature of the episcopacy, he soon began to call it a "spurious episcopacy." Lee says of the seceders:

The name of bishop they abhorred. They acknowledged that the word *bishop* and the word *elder* in the Scriptures meant the same thing; yet they showed great indignation against the word *bishop*, and were well pleased with the word *elder*.\*

This incidental allusion by Lee shows that at that day the Methodists understood the words *bishop* and *elder* to mean the same order. [As they do in their scriptural, but not in their ecclesiastical, use.—ED.]

Another Methodist preacher who started an independent movement about the same time was the Rev. William Hammett. Both of these leaders were men of ability, and their attacks upon the Methodist Episcopal Church and its episcopacy led to more careful statements and a more guarded phraseology.

One who defended the Church against Hammett's attack was the Rev. John Dickins, the first American preacher to whom Coke imparted the plan for the new organization. He was a member of the Christmas Conference, and consequently knew the original intention, as well as the understanding, at the time he wrote.

Emory, in his "Defense of our Fathers," quotes from a pamphlet written by Dickins in 1792, and says:

The late Rev. John Dickins, in his remarks on the proceedings of Mr. Hammett, says, in relation to the superiority of our Bishops as derived not from their "separate ordination," but

\* Lee's History, p. 204.

from the suffrages of the body of ministers : "Pray, when was it otherwise?" and "How can the Conference have power to remove Mr. Asbury and ordain another to fill his place, if they see it necessary, on any other ground?" Mr. Hammett had said: "Let your Superintendents know, therefore, that their superiority is derived from your suffrages, and not by virtue of a separate ordination. Gain and establish this point, and you sap the foundation of all arbitrary power in your Church forever." Mr. Dickins replies: "Now, who ever said the superiority of the Bishops was by virtue of a separate ordination? If this gave them their superiority, how came they to be removable by the Conference? If, then, what you there plead for will sap the foundation of all arbitrary power, it has been sapped in our connection from the first establishment of our constitution." (P. 31.) Again he remarks (p. 32): "We all know Mr. Asbury derived his official power from the Conference, and therefore his *office* is at their disposal." \*

This father of the Church calls the episcopacy an office. He states that the Bishops have no superiority "by virtue of a separate ordination;" and it follows, therefore, that if the so-called "ordination" gave no superiority, it gave no higher order. He declares that the Bishop "derived his official power from the Conference," and that the "separate ordination" had nothing to do with his superiority, and that there is not "any other ground" on which the Conference has "power to remove" a Bishop and "fill his place, if they see it necessary," with another. Finally he affirms that this view, that there is no virtue in the "separate ordination," and that the Bishop derives his superiority solely "from the suffrages of the body of ministers," has been held "from the first establishment of our constitution," and he boldly asks, "Who ever said the superiority of the Bishops was by virtue of a separate ordination?" †

Emory, commenting on this quotation from John Dickins, says:

The pamphlet containing the above sentiments was published by the unanimous request of the Conference held at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1792; and may be therefore considered as expressing the views both of that Conference and of Bishop Asbury in relation to the true and original character of Methodist episcopacy." †

Four years after Dickins published his pamphlet, Coke and Asbury, by request of the General Conference, prepared and

\* Emory's Defense, pp. 109, 110.    † *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 110.    † *Ibid.*, p. 110.

printed explanatory notes to the Discipline, and they were appended to the Discipline of 1796.

We turn to these "Notes," and ask Coke and Asbury whether they understood the service of setting apart a Superintendent or Bishop to be an ordination in the same sense that the service for elders was an ordination. Their answer is substantially that it was not an ordination in the same sense, but that when the word "ordination" was used in reference to Bishops it was in the sense of consecration. Thus they say that Mr. Wesley "first *consecrated* one for the office of a Bishop." Again, they say Mr. Wesley "consecrated two Bishops, Thomas Coke and Alexander Mather, one before the present episcopal plan took place in America, and the other afterward, besides *ordaining* elders and deacons."

This section has the heading, "The Election and *Consecration* of Bishops," while other sections have "The Election and *Ordination* of Traveling Elders," and "The Election and *Ordination* of Traveling Deacons." Here, then, when they come to contrast the services, they make a distinction, and show that the service for Bishops, though termed an ordination, was not an ordination in the sense in which the word was used for elders and deacons, and they endeavor to express the distinction by the use of the word *consecration*, which indicates the setting apart to an office; and so, while they use the word "ordain" for elders and deacons, whose ordination is recognized as conferring orders, they use the word "consecrate" in reference to the bishopric, which they call an office.

They group the episcopacy with "the presiding elder's office," and ask, "Is it not strange that any of *the people* should complain of *this* or of the *episcopal* office?" and go on to speak of them as "these offices," so that with them the bishopric was an office the same in kind with the presiding eldership, though superior in authority. Now, no one pretends that the presiding eldership is an order, and according to Coke and Asbury's grouping neither is the bishopric. So, having a service of installation for presiding elders would not make the office an order, and neither would any definite or indefinite extension of the term. The characteristic of both is official authority mainly of an executive nature, and so they are both fitly grouped together as offices.

The "Notes" also declare that the Bishops "are *perfectly subject* to the General Conference"—"that their power, their usefulness, themselves, are entirely at the mercy of the General Conference," which is consistent with the idea of the bishopric being an office, but totally inconsistent with the idea of bishops being of a higher order than presbyters.

At the General Conference of 1796, it was proposed, on account of Asbury's ill health and Coke's frequent absence, that an assistant Bishop be elected, but Dr. Coke offered his services. To this offer there was strong objection in the Conference until Asbury interposed, and said, "If we reject him, it will be his ruin," etc.\* The matter then was left to Asbury's judgment, and Coke gave an agreement in writing, in which he, the first Superintendent or Bishop, is reduced, or reduces himself, to the position of an assistant to Asbury; and agrees, as he says, "not to station the preachers at any time when he is present," and only "to exercise episcopal duties when I hold a Conference in his absence, and by his consent."†

Such control of a Bishop which the Conference claimed, and which both Asbury and Coke conceded, is not at all in harmony with the idea that the bishopric is a higher order, but it agrees perfectly with the idea that it is an executive office.

In the year 1800, Mr. Asbury "proposed to *resign his office* as Superintendent," and "take his seat in the Conference on a *level with the elders*," but the Conference took formal action on "his intention of *resigning his official station*," and requested "a continuation of his services as one of the general Superintendents."‡ This shows that Asbury and the Conference, as well as Lee, the historian, understood the episcopacy to be an *office*, and that when the Bishop resigned "his *official station*" he resigned all that he had above that which the ordinary elders possessed.

At this Conference of 1800, Richard Whatcoat was elected Bishop "on an equal footing" with Asbury, and Coke "obtained liberty to return to Europe again, upon the condition that he should return to America as soon as his business would allow; or, at farthest, by the next General Conference."§ Some

\* Kobler's letter to Dr. Lee in "Life and Times of Rev. Jesse Lee."

† Bangs's History, vol. ii, p. 56

‡ Lee's History, p. 263.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

years after this, the Wesleyan Conference in England requested the return of Dr. Coke, and the General Conference of 1804 passed a resolution permitting Dr. Coke to return to Europe "subject to the call of three of our Annual Conferences to return when he is requested, but at farthest, that he shall return, if he live, to the next General Conference."\* All of which was an assertion of power, certainly not as dealing with an order whose *prerogatives* are indefeasible, but as controlling an officer as to the use or disuse of his *functions*.

Dr. Coke was not present at the General Conference of 1808, but he wrote to that body, giving reasons for his absence and making certain propositions as a condition for his return to episcopal duty in America. Referring to his visit to America, four years before, he said: "I was not sure whether you would, in your circumstances as they respected Bishop Asbury, receive me as an *efficient* Superintendent or Bishop among you *in any degree or manner*."† He now wants them to define what powers he would have should he return to America, so conceding, by a necessary implication, the complete power of the Conference over him in respect to his position; and the Conference, taking him at his word, resolved that "he is not to exercise the office of Superintendent among us in the United States until he be recalled by the General Conference, or by all the Annual Conferences respectively."

A distinguished authority has said: "The action of the Conference was, to all intents and purposes, a deposition of the Bishop, though it was so expressed as to give him as little offense as possible." The same authority remarks that the Discipline "as acted upon by the General Conference . . . established the right of the General Conference to depose or suspend a General Superintendent, for any cause which that body may believe renders that deposition or suspension necessary, without the process of trial or impeachment."‡

In another letter to the General Conference of 1808, Dr. Coke says: "I am of our late venerable father Mr. Wesley's opinion, that the order of bishops and presbyters is one and the same." This restates Wesley's opinion, and, coming from the

\* Bangs's History, vol. ii, p. 154.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 197.

‡ Editorial in "Christian Advocate and Journal," T. E. Bond and G. Coles, Editors, August 14, 1844.

man who was said to have received "episcopal ordination" and "letters of episcopal orders," shows that these phrases were used in a qualified sense, and that he did not consider that he or Mr. Asbury had received any higher order than that of presbyter, for "the order of bishops and presbyters is *one* and the *same*." That he made such a statement to the Conference, without objection, may also be taken as reflecting the sentiment of that body.

Bishop Asbury died on the last day of March, 1816, and, on the twenty-third of the following month, the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper delivered a funeral discourse on the deceased Bishop. Mr. Cooper was present at the first meeting of Coke and Asbury, and was familiar with the views of the early Church. In this sermon he affirms that "our church government . . . is founded on . . . the Scriptures, and also the usages of the primitive Church;" and in the Appendix he speaks of the Methodist episcopacy as a "presbyterial episcopacy," and maintains that bishops and presbyters or elders are "the same order."\*

Thus we are brought down to the death of Asbury, which may be said to close the first period of the history of the Methodist episcopacy. Through all this time the identity of bishops and presbyters as to order is in numerous cases both positively and tacitly affirmed. It may be admitted that there was, especially at one period, some confusion in the use of terms, and it is possible that some may have misunderstood the nature of the episcopacy; but the prevalent tenor of the transactions of the General Conference, as well as the statements of prominent individuals, demonstrate that the early Methodist Episcopal Church understood that a bishop had no order above that of presbyter or elder, and that the bishoprie—"the episcopal office," as they called it—was not an order, but an office of an executive character, and that he who filled it, though he was in *office* a Superintendent or Bishop, was in *order* only a presbyter or elder.

\* Cooper on Asbury, pp. 109 and 115.

## EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

## CURRENT TOPICS.

## REVIVALS.

To the minds of most evangelical Christians there is something both pleasant and sobering suggested by the thought that is indicated by the rather indefinite term *Revivals*. It naturally calls up the idea of increased religious quickening, and the uplifting of united hearts and minds in faith and hope and holy endeavor, and also of the increase of Christ's kingdom by the conversion of souls. These ideas are common among religious people; but beyond these generally accepted notions there are not a few others in respect to which there is not equal unanimity. There is no such agreement in respect to the proper answer to the question, whether or not revivals should be considered the normal condition of church life, or special and occasional seasons of grace; nor, whether or not they should be labored for by direct efforts for their manifestations, or waited for in prayer and faith and the performance of moral and religious duties; nor, whether or not they have any relations to times and seasons, or are chiefly subject to human agencies and endeavors. All these questions are worthy of serious consideration, for they are potent in practical church work; and yet there are in many minds uncertainties respecting them, which may become prejudicial to religious interests.

If it shall be conceded that the religious state indicated by the word "revival" is the normal condition of the living Church, then it should also be expected that that state will be continuous and perennial, not occasional, with intervals of subsidence and cessation. But the commonly accepted form of language used in speaking of these things indicates that they are not so perpetual, as when we say *a* revival,—so giving it a segregated individuality, which would be absurd were the thing indicated continuous; and also because it is *one*, the idea of plurality becomes possible, and so we speak of revivals. In this case, as is usual, the common speech is no doubt agreeable to the facts, because revivals are special and exceptional phenomena in church life, but not therefore in the popular sense of the word abnormal. The alternations of the seasons and the changes of the wind are all normal, though the events of the one class occur according to an unalterable succession, and the other apparently without law, since "the wind bloweth where it listeth." The ordinary processes of nature are carried on in a well-regulated order, and yet it is well known that these may be either hastened or retarded, and also deflected into other forms; and so in spiritual things very much is clearly dependent on human actions. While, therefore, we recognize the ultimate subjection of the spirit of revivals to "sovereign grace," we

may also hold that its practical manifestation is not entirely removed from human influences; that while the residue of the Spirit is with the Lord, he also assures his people that for these things he will be inquired of.

The New Testament idea of the Christian life, whether in the individual or the Church, is that of an elevated spiritual estate—a walking in the light and abounding in all the graces of the Spirit, with the fruits following. That the life of the believer so walking with God should have its variations and spiritual crises seems to be according to the divine economy of Christian experience; and in like manner it might be presumed, apart from the evidence of facts, that there will be varieties in the operations of the Spirit in and through the Church. And such, it is known, has been the order of things in the Church, especially during its most spiritual periods, and changes from a lower to a higher state, from relative dullness to earnest vitality, and especially the outgoings of the Spirit's quickenings to the hitherto unsaved, constitute the gracious manifestations that we call *revivals*.

If, then, it should seem not quite correct to say that revivals constitute the normal state of the Church, they are certainly the normal products of the indwelling life of the Spirit, which is about equivalent to saying that if the Church is faithful to God he too will be faithful to his own promise to pour out of the abundance of his Spirit. It seems also to be the divine method that while the gifts of grace are continuous as the sunshine of the day and the dews of the night there shall also be occasional and exceptionally abundant "showers of blessings."

The duty of the Church in the matter of revivals is not only very serious, but also especially delicate, often presenting perplexing difficulties. Revivals are so far essential to the Church's welfare, that without them it will in almost any case decline in spirituality and lapse into worldliness, and also fail of its power to promote conversions. The Church that has no revivals will soon cease to be a soul-winning and soul-saving Church. These are the early and latter rains which irrigate the spiritual lands, so as to carry them still flourishing through other and less signally favored seasons, and by their influence the dormant seeds of grace in unrenewed souls are quickened and developed into spiritual life. And because revivals are so desirable, and indeed necessary, they should be sought for by all legitimate means; but great care should be exercised that only such shall be employed. It is a fearful thing to offer strange fire before the Lord. It is not for the minister or the Church to "appoint" a revival, nor for the evangelist to "get one up." Seasons for special and united prayer and other spiritual exercises may be of great value, even if not followed by unusual results; but for a revival there must be a patient, but not inactive, waiting upon God, in devout expectancy, but with all diligence in well-doing. As the mariner does not cease his efforts when the tide and the winds are against him, no more should Christians cease to labor and pray with all diligence in the most unpropitious seasons. It is always right and good to desire and work for a revival, but it is not good to try to force it, and it is impious to attempt to counterfeit it.

Genuine revivals are not only seasons of present refreshing, but they send their influences forward in blessings for after times. A revival Church is to those that abide in it the house of the Lord, stored with grace and adorned with the beauty of holiness; to those that are without, it is as a city set on a hill, and as a light shining in the world's darkness; but spurious and counterfeit revivals are a blight and a curse, both to the Church and the unsaved world. The religious fervors awakened by this kind of spiritual galvanizing, even though not consciously hypocritical, are unproductive and evanescent, and after they have passed by, the last case of their subjects is worse than the first. A sadder spectacle is not often seen than is presented by a social community that has been thus swept over by a religious sirocco, leaving behind it blighted souls and a widespread spiritual desolation. It is a fearful truth that should never be lost sight of by those who watch for souls, that every one upon whom the influence of a revival, genuine or spurious, is exercised, is either profited or damaged by it; that to be subjected to such spiritual influences without being made better is fearfully perilous, and these evil results may follow, in cases where there is not much of the true spirit of revival. A revival that comes by the power of the Holy Spirit is the bringer in of a renewed and lasting spiritual power to those who accept its benefits; and just the opposite results flow out of and accompany the spurious or artificial excitements that are called by that name.

The use of revival methods among young people and children, though a desirable work with large capabilities of good, is an exceedingly delicate duty, and not without its perils. Granting, as we certainly do, that there can be no spiritual life without regeneration, effectuated through penitence and prayer and faith, and also that children may be converted at an early age, seven to ten years old, we must also insist that parents and pastors and Sunday-school workers should be very careful how they handle such delicate and tenderly sensitive subjects; for the plastic docility which yields so readily to right instructions is also especially liable to be misled and perverted. To become religiously excited only to subside into indifference is to suffer great damage. To go forward for prayers, or in any way to be recognized as a seeker, without any deep and intelligent conviction of sin, or a settled purpose to lead a new life, whatever doing so may cost, is not a trifling error; and to pass through a Sunday-school revival without attaining to a scriptural conversion is to take a wide step in the wrong direction. These are momentous considerations, to which all who are charged with such interests should give heed.

The high estimate that is put upon revivals as phenomena in church life, and forms of Christian activity, is by no means in excess of their true value, and for that reason they should be not only diligently employed, but also carefully guarded from abuses. In and through them the ascended and glorified Christ has in all the ages of the Church fulfilled his promise of his perpetual presence, to the end of the Christian age. They have sometimes been given in the darkest seasons, and among conditions when it seemed that the light of spiritual life had gone out

and the Church had failed of its great design. But they are especially frequent and refreshing, and gloriously powerful, when the Church is walking in the obedience of faith and fulfilling its high calling, praying, watching, and working for the coming of the Lord.

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#### THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT.

It is an old remark, about equally trite and true, that the beginnings of great popular movements are usually occult, and often past finding out. That now so rife against intemperance and the liquor traffic is not absolutely new, but it has lately assumed broader proportions, and passed from the condition of a quiescent conviction to an active and aggressive propagandism ; and though there is abundant reason for even greater zeal against the rum demon than has before been brought into action, yet no special cause for its revival at this time is apparent. But the fact is not to be denied that the conviction is every-where deepening, that the desolations of intemperance are fearfully alarming, and that the trade in intoxicants is a nuisance that should be abated, and a public wrong calling for immediate and complete suppression. The presence of this feeling is patent, however it may have come to be. It is in the air, and can neither be ignored nor practically disregarded, and it may be well for all interests that may be affected by it, economical, social, or political, to recognize it as a factor in all their future calculations. This incoming flood is not the result of some temporary local storm, but of the rising tide of convictions that have come to possess the public mind in the forms of pity for the suffering, and of indignation against those who, for sordid gain, willingly become the agents of all this ruin. It is plain, too, that the force of these convictions has as yet only very partially expressed itself; and it is safe to anticipate that, instead of the present ripples of the waves, a mighty ground-swell of awakened purposes will sweep over the land.

The presence of this movement was manifested in the late general election chiefly as a disturbing force, but quite sufficiently so, not only to indicate its existence, but also to suggest that it was backed by an unmeasured reserve of power. The votes cast for what was called the "Prohibition ticket" can, in no just sense, be taken as a measure of its extent and influence. The interests of the people were drawn away, with almost unprecedented intensity, to other issues, and uncounted thousands of the most determined Prohibitionists were saying, "Not now; the contest for the presidency is now the great issue, and for the time being the paramount one." Whether or not they acted wisely in this is a matter of less importance practically than is the fact itself; and this uncounted reserve force of the prohibition army, which refused to come to the front, is neither dispersed nor demoralized, but they are resting on their arms, and waiting for the reveille and drum-beat, to call them to go forward. If was believed, indeed, that the so-called National Prohibition party, to

which Governor St. John was the standard-bearer, was not in any proper sense the representative of the intelligent and unselfish temperance sentiment of the country. Its proposed methods for the suppression of the liquor traffic were believed to be fundamentally wrong, as well as inexpedient and impracticable. The only alternatives presented were "Constitutional Prohibition," or absolutely free trade in liquor; and as the most sanguine must allow that years will elapse before the former can be secured, in all the interval there must be a jubilee of Free Rum. The leaders of the party refused to recognize the fact that a License Law is a partial prohibition, and also to consent to mitigate the liquor evil during the processes for its complete removal.

But these mistakes of those who have assumed to represent the cause of Prohibition, and who undertook to be its leaders, however egregious and lamentable, do not affect the real merits of the case. It will not be so misunderstood by the public, whether its friends or enemies. In the changed condition of the politics of the nation and of the two great parties brought about by the late election, the prohibition movement stands forth disentangled and with a comparatively open field for its action. During the next three years the contest for the presidency will be in abeyance, and the people of the several States and cities and minor civil divisions will be at liberty to care for their local affairs, in respect to which party allegiance is much less exacting than in national elections. To men of practical rather than visionary methods of thinking to begin the attack upon the liquor traffic through a canvass for the presidency, and by aiming at its suppression by Congressional legislation, seems very much like an attempt to mount to the house-top without the use of the stairway, or like rejecting the use of scaffolding in erecting a lofty edifice. The first work to be done, and that nearest at hand, and the most readily practicable, is in each one's own municipality or political locality, and the enforcement of laws already on the statute book against the unrestrained freedom of the traffic—which may well form an issue in the election of local officials—would be the best possible preparation for further suppressive legislation, or for the election of legislative and executive officers of the State on that issue. This kind of work may not so well meet the requirements of men of very lively imaginations, but in practically beneficial results it will commend itself to plain common-sense people.

In the present state of this subject two facts of commanding importance must be taken into the account. The first is, that there can be only two great national parties in the country, one or the other of which will have the control of public affairs. A third party, if attempted, must necessarily be narrow in the range of its purposes, and also temporary as to its continuance, and usually local in extent. It must ignore all other public interests, except its own specialty—which the great body of the citizens will not do, and ought not. No party based on any single issue ever achieved success at a general election, and from the necessities of the case it cannot be done. It may operate as a disturbing force and a menace,

and, by compelling one or both of the great parties to grant its claim, it may achieve success at second-hand. But to withdraw from both the parties those who favor some specific changes would be to render them powerless in the contest, and to reduce that element in the body politic to zero. The second fact referred to is, that as the two chief parties are constituted, as to the character of their adherents, the withdrawal of the Prohibitionists from both would result in the hopeless defeat of that party from which alone there can be any possibility of success for their cause.

In the three States of Maine, Kansas, and Iowa the principle of Prohibition has been incorporated into their fundamental law, but in each of them it was done by, not a third party, but the Republicans. But, left to its own leaders, the Republican party cares nothing for Prohibition, nor for any other moral issue. It simply asks for votes, and is ready to purchase them by concessions made to those whose suffrages are sought for. It came into existence and attained supremacy in the nation by responding to a great popular demand; and so long as the issues so raised were unsettled, but still pursued, it was secure in the popular favor. But of the hundreds of thousands of free citizens who, during its struggle against the slave power, voted steadily with the Republican party, a contingent much larger than its majority never belonged to it in any such sense as to feel bound to follow its leadings contrary to their own personal convictions. It is because that party has failed to retain the confidence of those men who have both convictions and conscience that its splendid majorities of former years, after growing beautifully less year by year, have at length disappeared. Nothing seems more certain than that the Republican party must either satisfy the Prohibitionists by making their specialty a "plank" in its platform, and so stand or fall on that issue, or be hopelessly defeated and go out of existence,—as did its predecessor, the Whig party, because it would not accept the antislavery issue. Should it accept that issue, it would probably be defeated for more than a single year; but there would be hope in its case, because the moral forces of the country would be on its side. Apart from this liquor question, neither of the great parties can make any special claim to the favor of the moral and religious portion of the community; and while the Democrats may hope to succeed without it, the Republicans are sure of defeat without their cordial support. They have, therefore, these alternatives between which to choose—adopt Prohibition or go into liquidation.

Those who favor the organization of a political Prohibition party with the required agencies and appliances, and the necessary expenditure of money for carrying on a campaign, seem not to duly appreciate the greatness of the undertaking. It is not an extravagant estimate that puts down a million of dollars as the aggregate expenditure of each of the parties at the last election—probably twice that amount would not cover all the direct and indirect outlays and expenditures in various forms. Who, then, may be relied on for such contributions to the Prohibition party?—and without money, and a large amount of it, too, a political campaign

cannot be successfully conducted, even in so good a cause as that of Prohibition. Good and true men will give their own votes without other compensation than the sense of a duty performed; but beyond that their services must be paid for, which is all right. In the great parties the payments and contributions are expected to be compensated by political preferments, not entirely disregarding the profits of official jobbery. Will these motives prove effective in the new party? and, if so, will there not be danger of jobbery there also? Evidently, the formation of a great national party, based upon the single idea of Prohibition, to be organized and engineered so as to give even the most distant assurance of success, is simply impracticable, and also undesirable. The attempt, if made, would only result in impotent endeavors and abortive attempts, assuring their own defeat, while the party itself would be made the retreat of cranks and visionaries, and of hopelessly unsuccessful aspirants for place—the rejected material of the other parties. Without a party organization, for the distribution of offices, the Prohibitionists can compel one or both of the great parties to grant all that they ask, which is the only possible way by which to succeed.

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#### AN UNSOLVED SOCIAL PROBLEM.

It is the commonly accepted opinion that a people or nation of a lower civilization, brought into close contact with a higher, tends toward extinction. This opinion, however, though seldom called in question, may not be so invariably correct as is usually supposed, and yet a large array of facts may be presented that seem to sustain it; but no reasons that appear altogether satisfactory for this order of things have been assigned. Those that are usually offered, and which seem plausible enough at first sight, soon become either greatly weakened or fairly broken down under a more critical and searching examination. There are, however, enough of facts, that are not to be denied, to make out a *prima facie* case, and so to afford an occasion for an inquiry after their cause.

A writer in the "Popular Science Monthly" for December, treating of this subject, concedes the general correctness of the prevalent opinion, and attempts to assign reasons for the recognized facts, which, however, with all the advantages of a skillful putting, only partially sustain his positions, and still leave ample space for questionings ending in uncertainty. A very considerable array of facts may be presented which, taken alone, and without considering other and opposing ones, would seem to sustain the popular opinion, and to indicate that the supposed tendency is founded upon some universal law of life; but the number of unquestionable facts that refuse to conform to that law is so considerable that the universality at first so plausible is rendered very doubtful. The case of the Northern nations that overran Middle and Southern Europe in the times of the decline and dissolution of the Roman Empire, which the writer referred to adduces in proof, will scarcely apply in this case, for the old

civilization had already lost its vitality; nor did the invading nations die out in the contact, but they largely coalesced with the people among whom they came, and became assimilated to them in character and manners.

In our own times three test cases have been wrought out, each one on an extensive scale; these are, those of the South Sea Islanders, the American Indians, and the Afro-Americans. The history of the aborigines of the Spanish American States—to whom that writer makes no reference—would also afford abundant materials for illustrating the subject, and the result of the consideration of its facts would not at all strengthen the popular opinion. The South Sea Islanders have been, within the last hundred years, in a large portion of their tribes or kingdoms, civilized and Christianized by Protestant missionaries, and, simultaneously with that transition, there has been a steady and rather rapid decline in their population. In the Sandwich Islands, where the work of transformation has been very rapid, and comparatively thorough, this decline has been especially marked. The work of Christianization began with them in 1820, when the population of these islands is supposed to have been not much less than 150,000 souls. In 1830, there were over 130,000; and from that date the decline continued till 1872, when there was found to be less than 57,000. The next six years showed a gain of about 1,000, but during that time more than 2,000 immigrants had been introduced. "The history of the Hawaiian Islands for the last sixty years," the writer concludes, "might be almost condensed in three words—Christianization, civilization, extermination." But looking beyond this group of islands, and considering the cases of other but kindred races, it will be found that among the Maoris of New Zealand, who surely have not suffered from either Christianization or civilization, the process of extermination has gone forward no less certainly and fatally.

It was our good fortune, some ten years ago, to make the journey from San Francisco to Omaha, in a palace car, with a highly intelligent gentleman from the Sandwich Islands, a native of Connecticut, but who had resided for thirty-five years in those islands—first as a secular agent for the American Board of Missions, and later in mercantile business, and also as a member of the government. He recognized the fact that the population seemed to be dying out, and also that the decay affected about equally those most thoroughly Christianized and civilized and those least affected by contact with foreigners—for the people of some of the outlying islands are still but little removed from their primitive heathenism. In answer to our inquiry for some explanation of a phenomenon at once so strange and so sad, he confessed that he could assign no natural cause for it, but declared his belief that it was not at all due to their contact with the strangers that had come among them, whether bringing the virtues or the vices of civilization. His only theory of the case was expressed in the simple but fearful words, "It seems to be God's will." These things, and especially the fact that the whole Polynesian races, Christian and pagan alike, and whether in contact with the higher civilization or quite isolated from it, appear to be dying out, seem to indicate

that its cause must be sought for in some other direction than contact with foreigners.

In our own country we have two races of men, wholly distinct and widely dissimilar, who have been all along in near or more distant contact with the whites—the Indians and the Negroes. Respecting the former, the common opinion, no doubt, is that they are steadily, and not very slowly, dying out; but the foundation for that belief is much less certain than is usually supposed. We have no trustworthy evidence respecting the number of the aboriginal inhabitants of the territory of the United States three hundred years ago. Some have estimated it as high as half a million, and others, about equally uninformed, have set it down at little more than half that aggregate. In 1830 it was written down, rather by a guess than from duly ascertained facts, at about 313,000, and ten years later, 400,000; in 1855, 350,000; in 1872, 300,000; and in 1879, nearly 253,000. The evident uncertainty of these estimates renders them almost entirely unavailable for any accurate comparison; but they leave the general impression that, on the whole, there are somewhat fewer Indians within the national territory than there were two or three hundred years ago—though the diminution has not been so great as has usually been supposed. It is also believed by some, well informed in such matters, that the dying out had begun before the white man came among them. The eastern and northern tribes have certainly declined, partly, no doubt, by the excess of deaths over births, and partly by the absorption of individuals into the larger and more prosperous tribes; but the southern tribes have steadily increased, and especially so since their settlement in the Indian Territory. It is now also pretty clearly ascertained that among the tribes that reside east of the Rocky Mountains the decadence has been arrested, and that the tide is setting in the opposite direction. Their closer contact with the civilization and religion of the whites appears to be no longer so fatal as it has been assumed that it must be.

The African race present a set of facts that entirely fail to sustain, but rather contradict, the popular theory. They were certainly, at first, as completely savage as any others, and yet they have steadily flourished in the presence of the white man, and they have also readily yielded to both his civilization and his religion. While in slavery they increased like Israel in Egypt, and in freedom they are even more prolific. As a race they have taken kindly to their new environments, and are as completely naturalized and nationalized as any of the people of the land, and evidently they are numerically the coming sub-nationality of the country.

The race problem in the United States is certainly as yet unsolved, and the wisest among us are very slow to predict what must be its outcome; and yet we think there are signs of promise in the face of the political and social heavens. Quite possibly the Polynesian races may be destined to become extinct—if so, because God wills it; but for the aboriginal American races, and still more for the Afro-Americans—already Christianized citizens of the Great Republic, and also the most thorough Protestants, as well as most intense patriots—the outlook is full of promise.

There is also a correlated deduction, suggested by the conditions of the problem that we are considering, respecting the probable future of the original American stock that first settled the country and built up its frame-work of social and political life. Not only has this stream been sadly diluted by foreign admixtures, by which its outward characteristics are becoming effaced; but statistics seem to indicate that the older populations are relatively less productive than are the new-comers. The anti-Revolutionary families are steadily diminishing relatively, and that quite beyond their numerical proportions, and their places are being filled by the newly arrived, or their children of the first or second generation. But there remains this consolation, that such is the assimilating power of the original American character, that all that come into contact with it yield to its energy and are unconsciously changed into its likeness. And if that be so, what need for any concern for physical ancestry of race or color? With such characteristics wrought into his very being, whatever the race or condition of the citizen, he is a man "for a' that," and what more need be desired?

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#### ABOUT EVOLUTION.

The epidemic of "evolution" has made its appearance in a new quarter, and that about the last place that might have been suspected of liability to so great a danger. In two theological seminaries of the staid and conservative Presbyterian Church there have lately been signs of its presence, and the requisite measures have been adopted to prevent its spreading, and for stamping it out effectually. The Southern Presbyterians have a seminary at Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, in which there is an endowed Professorship of Natural Science as related to Theology, of which Rev. Dr. Woodrow is the incumbent; and quite legitimately, and in pursuance of the manifest design of his "foundation," the good doctor discussed his designated specialty from his professorial chair. In doing this he brought out certain rather fanciful speculations respecting the genesis of the parents of our race, which, of course, were not in harmony with the traditional orthodoxy and Presbyterianism, especially that of the Southern type, which is nothing if it is not conservative. The result has been that the whole body, within the entire region to the south of Mason and Dixon's line, has been thrown into a ferment. Its papers have wept over so sad a dereliction, and have fulminated terrible things against the recusant teacher, and presbyteries and synods have voted, by large majorities, that the doctrine of evolution is a pestilent heresy that must not be tolerated in either the pulpit or the seminary. And so, to the extent of the authority of those grave bodies, that matter is disposed of—though possibly some one may be reminded of the Pope's bull against the comet, or the burial of Sir John Barleycorn.

Before the bruit of the Southern conflict had fairly settled into silence, the announcement was made that Professor Kellogg, of the seminary

at Allegheny, had expressed himself in a way to occasion uneasiness among the especially cautious defenders of the faith, as defined in the Westminster documents. But now that wise teacher makes haste to set himself right with his brethren, by roundly denying that he is an "evolutionist;" but he follows this with certain professions of belief, which but for his disclaimer might have indicated his near affinity with those who are not so careful as he seems to be to purge themselves from the suspicion of favoring the deprecated heresy, so-called. He does a sensible thing, however, when he says that the evolutionists have never demonstrated their theory: he might have gone further, and declared that they never will do it—simply because the facts that would be necessary for its proofs are not within reach, nor can it be certainly demonstrated that they exist. But after all, Professor Kellogg gives away the case of his co-religionists when he concedes that there is nothing in evolution, as a scientific hypothesis, that need give the least possible alarm to any believer in the Bible and in the God of the Bible.

The manner in which this whole subject has been treated is very far from edifying. First, the infidel scientists, from a few partially ascertained and very imperfectly collated facts, leaped to the conclusion that they had effectually overthrown every possible form and degree of supernaturalism, and they so proclaimed with undisguised pleasure. And then the friends of the Bible, taking the alarm, began to discredit, not simply the conclusions of their assailants, but their indubitable facts, and the few clearly ascertained principles deduced from them. The result has been a war of words, not at all creditable to either party. But a third class—neither infidels nor blinded followers of traditional opinions—have dared to look into these things in order to find what they do really teach. The full report of their studies and examinations has not been published—probably it never will be made so full and complete as to be no longer susceptible of additions and emendations; but this much is clearly determined—that all that has been proved by the researches made in the science of nature has failed to cast the shadow of a doubt upon any of the great and saving truths of religion, as they are revealed in the Scriptures, and cherished in the hearts of believers, and conserved by the living Church. Nor is there any cause for misgiving in respect to any thing that science may hereafter demonstrate—for the plane of its operations and that of the supernatural truths of religion are not the same, and by no possible extension can the former come into collision with the latter. The highway of faith is all its own: the eagle's eye has not seen nor the lion's whelp trod it.

The worst service that can be done for religion, in this business, is that rendered by its incompetent would-be defenders, who, with more zeal than discretion, rush into the contest against more expert antagonists, either to be discomfited in attempting to defend what is not true, or to give away their cause by false concessions. A large share of the discussions of these matters, heard from the pulpit or found in the newspapers, come within the range of this criticism. Only those thoroughly learned in

the points at issue can discuss them in the pulpit, except to betray the cause they would defend, and the best learned will not be apt to bring them there at all. There is reason to believe that this folly is not much less in fashion than it was a few years ago.

The history of ecclesiastical proceedings in respect to the findings of science is not altogether an honorable one, as may be seen in such cases as that of Galileo. The literalistic theory of biblical interpretation which controlled the thinking mind of Christendom from a very early age of the Church down to the immediate past—and it is still powerful to mislead—has compelled the Church, first to antagonize the progress of science, and then to retreat before it. So it fought the Copernican system, but was compelled at last to yield the point; and so, for a long time, it held on to the six solar days of creation, till for very shame it could hold out no longer. Perhaps it has not yet fully given it up. But a better method of thinking is now almost universally accepted by those who must dictate the opinions of the Church of the future, which demands that spiritual Christianity shall not be subjected to scientific tests or modes of thought. Such subjects as the methods of creation, the age of the world, the genesis of living things, and the development of species, all belong to the same class with the laws of gravitation, the motions of the heavenly bodies, and the precession of the equinoxes; and none of them fall within the sphere of theology. They are all of the earth earthy, and should be left for secular men to deal with. "We have a more sure word of prophecy."

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#### LESSONS FROM THE CENTENNIAL.

The great Methodist "Centennial" of 1884 has passed into history, and so is brought within the field of vision of the reviewer. We are careful to indicate its date, for this is the third of its kind that has occurred within the memory of many now living. Forty-five years earlier, in 1839, came the Centenary of the founding of the first "Societies" by the Wesleys, which event was duly commemorated, especially by the Methodists of Great Britain. In 1866 was celebrated the Centenary of American Methodism, which, it was assumed, without overmuch regard for historical and chronological accuracy, belonged to that year, and this was chiefly an affair of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by which it was turned to good account historically, religiously, and financially. That now just passed was entirely American, but was more comprehensive than either of the former, because it included all kinds and forms of Methodists on the continent. This comprehensiveness, while abating somewhat its ecclesiasticism, indicated the essential unity of the many varieties of the common genus, and also displayed the magnitude of the proportions to which the "plant" has attained. The statistics presented would seem almost alarming to any one at all distrustful of vast concentrations of power, were it not that the

lack of organic unity and the exceeding flexibility of all its forms of government fully guard against any possible danger from that source. The unity of Methodism, like that of "the Holy Catholic Church," is spiritual and not organic, religious and not ecclesiastical, all of which the occasion abundantly illustrated and emphasized ; and in proportion as the organic and ecclesiastical conditions were kept out of sight, the oneness of essential Methodism became all the more manifest; and accordingly the assembly so brought together and constituted found itself free to devote its opportunities to social and congratulatory expressions, to reminiscences of past achievements, and to the glorification of its "heroes," instead of earnest deliberations on measures and methods of action; and within its purposes the "Conference" seems to have been a decided success.

These things are, however, still in the condition of passing affairs, and scarcely sufficiently matured to be considered in their completed results; and for their making up we must await the publication of the volume that shall give the proceedings in detail, with the papers read and considered. But some of the principal facts of the case were manifest and complete in themselves, and these are, perhaps, the most significant and suggestive of all that appeared on the occasion, and these fall within the range of our appropriate discussions.

To the thoughtful observer the most notable fact of the gathering was the *bigness* of the constituency represented. Each delegate had behind him more than twenty thousand church members, or fifty thousand persons, of various ages and relations. And besides these, with a less direct and more distant, but still somewhat effective, relationship, as many more. Reckoning the population of the country as one half, that is, twenty-five millions, really and effectively Protestant,—including in the other half the Romanists and all kinds and classes of quasi-religionists and the entirely irreligious,—it is not too much to claim for Methodism ten millions of these as of its type, and most nearly subject to its influences. To this estate it has attained, in very little more than a hundred years, by its aggressive energy, for it is at once the youngest of the great divisions of American Protestantism, and it has won its way against the opposition of all others, rather than with their favor; which facts certainly speak well for the effectiveness of its methods. But to the serious and conscientious Methodist observer these wonderful facts must suggest the most sobering reflections. They show to what a condition of responsibility the divine Providence has brought this body of Christians, and how great is the duty that comes with such opportunities; and they suggest that while there may be a degree of fitness in looking back and pausing to recount the wonderful things that God has wrought out for this people, there is also great need to remember the admonition against boasting before the victory is achieved. For a hundred years Methodism has been gathering her recruits, and preparing for the impending campaign against the powers of darkness; but the heaviest battles are yet to be fought, and the victory, already assured, must be won by mighty faith manifesting itself in indomitable labors and self-denials.

As in military affairs mere numbers are not a certain guarantee of success, quite as much so does this consideration apply to church work; and, therefore, in estimating the power and availability of Methodism, other properties and conditions must be taken into the account. And here, while we must freely confess our great and sad deficiencies, and our lamentable failures to measure up to the required conditions for realizing the high ideals of Christian aggressiveness, it is due both to the cause and to ourselves to properly appreciate all the advantages that we have. The place of Methodism in American Protestantism is a decidedly advantageous one. Its numerical greatness is a fact not to be despised, for it gives both strength and opportunities, and compels the respectful recognition of the other divisions of the "grand army." Its theological atmosphere has extended itself over the whole evangelical host; its spiritual tone and life has permeated it and become its own; while its liberal and flexible organization adapts it to all emergencies, and its aggressive methods fit it especially for the work most needed to be done. The keynote struck by Wesley, in his sermons "Against Bigotry" and "On a Catholic Spirit," has never been lost by his followers; for though there may have been individual cases of narrowness, yet these have been only exceptional and outside of the prevailing spirit of the body. It is by the influence of this spirit that the essential unity of Methodism has been maintained in all lands, and among widely variant ecclesiastical organisms and social customs; and by virtue of it the wide chasm that originally separated it from all other evangelical denominations has been effectually bridged. Its attitude, even more than its words, toward Christians of other names has been that indicated by the Psalmist, "I am a companion of all them that fear the Lord, and of them that keep his precepts." It is pronounced in all its purposes, readily declaring for the right, without waiting to see whether or not it is likely to be popular. It is instinctively aggressive, alike in spirit and in form; it is all alive, with a wonderful facility for casting off any effete and non-adjustable parts—altogether a vast reservoir of religious potentialities, as yet only very partially realized.

In two directions—in learning and wealth—Methodism has very largely increased its resources and capabilities, and, it may be feared, without a corresponding increase of its moral and religious efficiency. They who have been most closely related to the mind and thought of the denomination for the past half century are the best prepared to appreciate the very great advances that have been made. We talk and write of our great men of the times of the fathers; and they were great in their adaptations and in their work. They belonged to their own age, and nobly measured up to its requirements, and achieved great results. But changed conditions make other and vastly increased demands upon the men of the present time, for which their enlarged advantages, to a good degree, qualify them; and these also lay upon them the most sacred obligations. Whether with these advantages they still retain the spirit and devotion of the fathers is a question of the highest significance. The Head of the Church has not brought together this host, so disciplined and qualified,

without a commensurately high and sacred purpose; but who will say that the work they are doing makes any near approach to the demands and the possibilities of the case? There is, no doubt, some deficiency of self-denying devotion, and of personal self-sacrifice, but of these there is very much more than is made available. The Church's order and methods of Christian work afford very little opportunity for spontaneous religious zeal, and it is possible that both faith and hope may be repressed through lack of opportunities. But that still a good degree of enthusiasm exists is shown by the manner in which William Taylor's call for volunteers is responded to; and though it may be suspected that the motives that control in these things may be largely tinged with human admixtures, it is equally manifest that there is also in them an element of Christian heroism that ought to be utilized. No higher duty now awaits the directing hand of the governing minds and hearts of Methodism, from the chief ministers down to the pastors and laity of the churches, than the effective utilization of its working forces. It will be worse than useless to recount past successes, to set up our Ebenezers, singing "Hither by thy help I'm come," and to tell of our millions of converts, unless these reviews of our forces are made preparatory to better organizing for action, and the more adequate employment of our capabilities.

Ours is an age of money-making, of unprecedented financial increase, and of all this Methodists have received much more than their numerical proportion. While the denomination has doubled and redoubled its membership, their wealth has increased by a much larger ratio; and no problem of greater importance, or more difficult of a satisfactory solution, now confronts the Church than how the perils of such an increase of wealth may be avoided, and the money with which God is endowing his Church, in the persons of its members, may be used for the furtherance of his work. The danger of possessing, and especially of gaining wealth, is declared and emphasized by Christ and his apostles, and these warnings have been reiterated till they have become commonplaces of the pulpit and the religious press; but the golden game proceeds without abatement, and the Methodists are rapidly becoming a wealthy denomination. A very few have come to rightly apprehend this matter, and faithfully to employ the talents intrusted to them in the service of the Master, so making for themselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; but to many more, it may be feared, the censure of the apostle is only too aptly fitting: "Your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you. . . . Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton." The wealth given to Christians is a divine provision for the furtherance of the Gospel; and in order that they may serve God in that way, he has, in the orderings of his providence, made money a needed agency in his work, and at the same time given it to his people to be so used, not by the very rich only, but by all, according as God hath prospered each one. The work in which the Church has become engaged, and to which it should direct its efforts, calls loudly for not inconsiderable amounts of money for its successful prosecution in the immediate future—for churches,

for schools, for missions, and for works of charity in behalf of the souls and bodies of men; and no other lesson taught by the "Centennial" calls more loudly or imperatively for devout attention and willing obedience than this demand for the consecration of wealth for the promotion of Christ's kingdom. And though we are aware of the power of worldliness, and of the "deceitfulness of riches," we still believe that this demand will be much more largely complied with hereafter than it has been at any time heretofore.

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#### THE RATIONALE OF BELIEF.

The confusion both in the common and cultured mind respecting the extent to which one is responsible for what he believes, especially if it relate to religious truth, arises chiefly from a misunderstanding of the faith-principle, and an imperfect analysis of its contents and requirements. Careless statements and well-nigh meaningless platitudes on the subject, to the making of which the pulpit has contributed its share, have gone forth and been reiterated with such emphasis as to impress men that they are legitimate deductions from the Scriptures, and must be accepted as the condition of temporal good and final salvation. A survey of the foundations of belief will dissipate the common error, since it will be seen that belief *is* and is *not* within the mind's control, or subject to the volition and judgment of the believer. The beliefs that men entertain are of two kinds, for only one of which they are responsible. The beliefs that are the products of nature, or whose root is contained in consciousness, and those that are the product of thought, or whose root is in voluntary mental action, differ radically in character; and, by as much as they differ in origin and character, by so much does responsibility for them differ.

Both of these beliefs are common to the experience of the race. The first we denominate spontaneous, universal, intuitional, or primary beliefs. Fundamental to human nature, they belong to every man, whether he is a savage or a Christian. To use the striking language of Professor Bowne, they are the "raw rudiments of consciousness," but in their "raw" state they are the constituent elements of manhood, the signs of a common humanity. Moreover, they are regulative as well as constitutive, distinguishing the true, the right, the beautiful, the good, and impelling to these things by a resistless under-ground swell, of the conscious life. Acute in distinction, they are forceful in persuasion, and consciousness is shocked at a refusal of the mind to co-operate and obey. If asked to name these "innate" ideas, which must be done to give value to our discrimination, we should place among them the ideas of right and wrong, of finite and infinite, of cause and effect, of substance and quality, of unity and multiplicity, upon which character may be built, or from which original, though perhaps not acquired, character may be evolved.

For these original ideas, notions, or conceptions—"common-sense" beliefs, Reid calls them—man is no more responsible than an elephant for his proboscis, or the sun for his rising.

However, let us guard this point. Though not responsible for his intuitions, man is nevertheless responsible for their use or application. It is true they impel him; it is equally true he uses them. They are the natural instruments of character, ever dominant and self-acting, and yet the subjects of training, development, and education. No one is responsible for having a conscience; he is responsible for the use he makes of it. He may bandage, suppress, bury the natural forces of character, the volitional energies of mind, the intuitional revelations of the soul, in which case he will inflict damage upon himself; or he may conform to righteousness and obtain its rewards, by the culture of consciousness and giving to the intuitions the right of way in his life. An uncultured conscience may provoke fanaticism just as an unenlightened judgment may turn to superstition. If in their "raw" condition the intuitions are sensitive and impelling, what would be their force if trained, matured, and regulated in activity? The power to hinder the intuitions and the power to invigorate and employ them is the measure of the responsibility for their use.

The second class of beliefs we denominate reflective or derivative, inasmuch as they are not original with nature, or the spontaneous products of the consciousness. Professor Bowne ("Metaphysics," page 16) says: "Very many of our beliefs are effects, and not conclusions. They are produced in us, and not deduced by us." A spontaneous belief is an effect of nature; a deduced belief is a conclusion from investigation of facts, principles, relations, and must, therefore, be voluntary. Evidence, inquiry, and knowledge, absent in spontaneous belief, are the conditions of a reflective belief which gains in trustworthiness according to the investigation that has preceded it. A spontaneous belief precedes investigation, is not dependent on it, though it acquires strength from knowledge; a reflective belief succeeds investigation, and is baseless without it. The former is an unoriginated certainty; the latter is a creative form of thought, resulting from comparison of facts, and a purpose to harmonize them in the unity of a formula of faith.

Evidently, for a reflective belief, derived from the directive work of the mind, man is thoroughly responsible. The duty to believe any thing beyond the revelations of consciousness imposes the duty to investigate the subject proposed to our credence, and to believe only as the facts warrant. To this law of faith even scriptural truth is subject, since it addresses human intelligence, and appeals to the reason and to experience for confirmation. To exempt divine revelation from the rule of investigation would amount to a confession that it cannot be investigated, that is, that, being supernatural in character, it is entirely beyond rational apprehension, which, if true, would unfit it for human scrutiny; or, that it cannot bear investigation, which implies that it is not what it professes to be,—in which case it should be abandoned. This is an era of "biblical criticism," the justification of which is, that divine truth in the written form,

as we have it, is a proper subject for investigation. Of the results of such criticism let no one be afraid, since a belief founded on rational inquiry will be more permanent than that superstitious reverence for truth which has too much characterized the past, and even the religious world itself.

Infidelity, rationalism, mysticism, spiritualism, Universalism, Roman Catholicism, considered as beliefs in reference to religious truth, are not spontaneous, but reflective; they are not inspirations, either of consciousness or of the divine Spirit, but the products of voluntary inquiry for which the inquirer is justly responsible. In proportion to his inquiry or the data he gathers, he believes. On insufficient data he predicates a baseless conclusion, behind which he cannot shelter himself with the insincere plea that he cannot control his convictions. Belief arising from data, except those of consciousness, he must fashion according to the demands of evidence, and accept the results. Hence, the fearful responsibility that attaches to voluntary belief, of which kind is the whole brood of skepticisms which it is the business of this age to correct and annihilate. Unbelief is not a spontaneous state, but a reflective or derivative, and therefore voluntary, conclusion; consciousness is antagonistic to doubt and never inspires it; hence, the doubter is responsible for his doubt. Both Bacon and Descartes initiated, the one science and the other philosophy, with the principle of doubt; it was voluntary, it was purposed. So all doubt is a reflective conclusion, reflective, that is, voluntary, even when it assumes the form of unintelligent stubbornness. It is not difficult, then, to indicate the bounds and limitations of human belief, or the nature and extent of human responsibility. Both intuitional and reflective beliefs involve the duty of self-enlightenment, the one for a right use of the spontaneous products of consciousness, the other for a proper development of the discursive reason, the instrument of all voluntary, and therefore responsible, faith.

J. W. M.

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#### FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE story of the Anabaptists in the Venetian territory in the middle of the sixteenth century, by Dr. Karl Beurath, "Studien und Kritiken," is quite an addition to the history of the collateral workers during the Reformation. Very little has hitherto been known of the movements, in any portion of papal Italy, of the sect then called Anabaptists. We have lengthy histories of their labors in Holland, Switzerland, and even in Spain, in which latter country they were treated with the most revolting severity.

The history before us is a succinct account of the doings of these Reformers in northern Italy, many of whom were fanatical in their opinions and aggressive in their modes. The more sensible wing of these Protestants endeavored to work in harmony with the Lutheran platform,

and corresponded both with Luther and Melanchthon; whereas a more advanced faction were so radical in their doctrines and teachings as to make themselves offensive to the leaders of the German Reformation, and very unpleasant companions to the Catholic Italians. The Church, therefore, watched their activity with a very jealous eye, and finally adopted stringent and remorseless measures to suppress them or drive them out of the country.

They, however, at last became so numerous that they determined to hold a council in Venice, in September, 1550. In this council each congregation was represented by two delegates. The number that came was surprising even to the participants themselves, for although not every congregation was able to send its representatives, there were nevertheless sixty of these present, twenty or thirty being from Switzerland. Among the members on the roll of this order appear a great many Italian names that seem strangely out of place in a history of the Protestant Reformation. The participants were mostly poor, and of course they were friendless in the great city of Venice. Their traveling expenses were paid by their constituents, and they were obliged to provide for their own wants while there. Their proceedings, which bore the external character of religious fervor, were not marked by strong religious belief. They denied the divinity of Christ, the existence of angels, and a devil. They declared that the grave is the only hell, where the wicked remain always, but whence the chosen are delivered by the call of God.

Such doctrines, of course, separated them from the Lutheran workers in the Reformation on the one hand, while it made them more offensive to the papal authorities on the other, and alienated them from large numbers of their own brethren. These utterances gave an impulse to their persecution on the part of the local authorities. The magistrates of various cities ordered them to be punished or exiled, and in the bitterness of controversy the good and the bad among them were alike victims of persecution. The result was, that the true and fervent Christians among them appealed to their Protestant brethren in other lands, and received such sympathy and advice as these could give. They looked with special hope and love to the Moravian Brethren, who aided as far as possible the orthodox wing of these Protestant Christians. From the confessions that were forced from many who were imprisoned, information was gained in regard to many others, and thus the Propaganda soon came into possession of quite a list of these Italian Anabaptists, and proceeded to persecute them. We need hardly say that the agency for this work was the Inquisition; and indeed the "Sacred Office," as it is called, had its fill of congenial work. It found in Venice several lowly tradesmen, in Padua a baker and his wife, and in Vicenza five, of whom one was quite an influential member of society and of the sect. But amid all this suffering the letters and diaries of some of these men, of which we find extracts in this article, breathe the firmest confidence that God will lead all to his honor, and beg their brethren in the faith to remain loyal to Christian truth. The entire story of these unfortunate Protestant Christians, and

the sad fate of many of them, adds another gloomy page to the history of Protestant movements in the sixteenth century, and another very disgraceful page to the history of the Romish Church.

**THE GERMAN CHURCH AND THE SECTS.**—The State Protestant Church in Germany seems to have a growing, and, we think, a wholesome, fear of the sects. One of its sections recently held a "Church Conference," so called, in the old town of Eisenach, so well known as having been for a time the home of Luther in his early days. This Conference passed certain resolutions designed to protect the State Churches against the activities and separatistic tendencies of what they choose to call the sects, meaning thereby the Baptists and the Methodists. The resolutions passed have caused no little excitement in the camp of these dissenting Christians, and they treat them with great freedom in the organs of the respective denominations.

This "Church Conference" recommends very severe ecclesiastical discipline against these disturbers of the Church's peace, and the "Methodist Evangelist" thus replies in righteous wrath: "The *Church* will exercise discipline, it appears, but it is rather remarkable that it does not seem to incline to put this discipline in practice against the contemners of the divine word, against adulterers and drunkards, but rather against those who love God's word, observe his sacraments, but commit the one great crime in the eyes of the State Church, namely, partake of the Holy Communion with the sects, that is, not within the pale of the Establishment." The Baptist organ recommends its adherents publicly to announce their withdrawal from the State Church. These Eisenach resolutions, which refer to the relation between the State and the sects, demand that the latter shall be allowed no corporate rights or other concessions, and that any new religious societies shall give guarantees to the Church authorities in order to prevent any interruption of ecclesiastical peace, and to put an end to unseemly agitation.

But one may well demand whence this Church Conference obtains the right to declare as outlaws those who do not choose to submit to their assumptions. They certainly do not receive it from the State, for this has been more tolerant to these dissenters than a certain class of the clergy. They do not receive it from the Bible, for the New Testament is emphatic in its warnings against a spirit of persecution. It is quite remarkable that if a Protestant be oppressed in Austria or Spain, the entire religious press of Germany rises in wrath to condemn it. But dissenting Protestants within its own borders may be tormented and threatened with police interference, and no voice is raised against it.

**THE LATEST WALDENSIAN SYNOD.**—The recent Waldensian Synod of that Church in Italy, was held at its head-quarters in Torre-Pellice, and was largely attended. According to custom, a yearly report was presented in regard to the evangelizing work of the Waldensian congregations in the valleys. The most important subjects presented to the body

were the opening of the large Waldensian Church in Rome and the great growth of their evangelizing work on the island of Sardinia. Their success there was attributed to the isolation of the island from the corrupting influence of modern enlightenment, which in the main-land of Italy seems to have led to so much decided unbelief.

A question of exceeding interest to this synod was that of a union of all the Protestant Churches, which is just now quite an exciting one for Italy, and is engaging the attention of all branches of Italian Protestantism. The two Baptist branches, that is, the open and the close communion, are coming together as one Baptist Church. And the Waldensian Synod resolved to send delegates to the Evangelical Italian Congress, which shall officially discuss the mode and character of the proposed union. And even more important was the fact that the Free Church, which separated from the Waldenses thirty years ago, and since that time has held very strained relations with it, declared at this synod, through its official delegates, that if the federalism or union of all the Italian Churches should not be brought about, that they, at least, would enter into union with the Waldensian Church. The leader of the Free Church had previously addressed a question to the committee of the Waldenses in this intent, which had been very kindly received, and a meeting of the principal leaders of the two Churches, held privately in Florence, gave reason to hope for success in this effort. That committee recommended that the synod take the proper steps to effect a reunion, and this recommendation was unanimously indorsed, and a committee of the synod was directed to confer with the committee of the Free Church as to the mode of organization.

The reports from the congregations in the valleys were not so favorable as the past successes of these fervent and zealous Waldensians would lead us to hope and expect. Their communicants are notably decreasing in numbers. Only about half of their members take part in the service of the Lord's Supper. Even a greater indifference is discovered in the electoral lists, on which only about one fourth of the members entitled to communion are enregistered. Great complaints are also made about the increasing alienation of the young men from the Church, and a consequent sinking of the moral level of the Waldensian youth. The glorious past of the Waldenses ought to lay a sacred trust on the rising generation.

The theological literary world of Germany is now quite excited with a matter of unusual interest made known to them by the report of a new "find," in the line of inscriptions, through a German traveler in Arabia. Dr. Enting of Strasburg, having visited Palmyra in the summer of last year, brought from there an impression of several inscriptions in two languages found on gravestones, altars, and among nunneries. He then undertook a dangerous journey from Damascus to central Arabia, which brought him to Hayel, the capital city of the Emir Mohammed Raschid, and thence westward to the city of Tema. In these primeval regions he discovered a stone with an Aramaic inscription, and the pictures of a king in Assyrian costume of about the eighth century before Christ. He then

visited the ruins of several other cities, where he discovered about thirty well-preserved inscriptions from the period of the Christian era. One of these "finds" consisted of short inscriptions in characters hitherto unknown, apparently a side branch of the ancient southern Arabian character. Most of these inscriptions, together with a number of other monumental inscriptions, have been brought to Germany, and forwarded as far as the University of Strasburg.

The friends of scientific Scripture study are greatly pleased at the completion of the biblical hand-lexicon of Dr. Riehm. Evangelical Germany now possesses what it has hitherto lacked, namely, an illustrated Bible lexicon of surrounding lands, especially of England, which in regard to its contents, its execution, and its general arrangement as a book of reference for all the biblical sciences, but mainly of antiquarian and biblical history, is superior to any predecessor in this line. Like all previous works of Dr. Riehm, it has been executed with conscientious care, and with a thorough knowledge of the subjects presented, both on his part and on that of the many illustrious biblical scholars who have co-operated with him. These, like the author himself, belong to the generation of middle-aged scholars, especially in the Old Testament field, who avoid the hypercritical tendencies of the theologians and orientalists of a younger school. These Christian workers tread lightly where others might rush in, but to their conservative care we owe the fact that many of the articles in this work are of rare value; and the now completed issue will, without doubt, immediately take its place among the standard works of all the German theological libraries.

The congregations of the so-called "Christian Brothers" are unveiled in a recent Catholic statistical publication, and the world is quite surprised to find these Catholic teachers of the lower order of schools so very numerous. There are about 1,200 members of this order, about half of these with vows for life, some 4,000 of these with limited vows, and the remainder as novices. They live in about 1,200 "Houses" and control more than 1,700 schools, some of which are public, but more of which are private elementary schools. A goodly number of them are for adults, and some for apprentices. In short, the whole organization seems to aim at getting control of the lower order of studies, to keep these grades out of the hands of individuals or of the State. Over 300,000 pupils are reported as being on their rolls. The order is scattered over various lands, about as follows: France and its principal colonies have nearly a thousand of these "Houses," with about 9,000 members; Belgium has 44, with 550 members; North America, 96, with 971 members; South America, 11, with 71 members. And so the list goes on through Spain, England, Austria, Italy, Turkey, and Egypt, and even China. Their activity has been most largely developed in Paris, where they were formerly teachers in the public city schools. Having been expelled from these, they now have their private free schools for the general Catholic public.

The increase of suicide abroad is attracting very general attention, and a thesis recently published by a prominent divine thus treats of this growing danger to modern society: "Christianity alone has the power to antagonize the frightful increase of suicide in civilized lands. The Evangelical Church should consider itself under special obligation to fight this evil, because it is in its lands that it has so largely spread. Where this faith, as in Scotland, has retained its unbroken power, the number of suicides is comparatively small. Therefore, if the ruling effort were to keep pure the Protestant faith, to keep the individual members of the Church loyal to the word and to the sacraments, the result would be clearly felt in the control of this crime. And, further, it is the duty of this Church to stop as far as possible those sources whence spring the mania for self-destruction, especially the passion for drink and gambling, licentious sins, a vile press, and dueling. The Church should have a large share in the transformation and amelioration of the social relations. It should show its condemnation of suicide by denying Church honors to suicides, and refusing to them a public burial. The participation of the Church at the burial of a suicide contradicts the divine ordinances in honoring those who despise the divine word. Only in suicides from well-defined cases of insanity should an exception be made. And even in this case it would be well to make the interment more liturgical than churchly."

Many of the German synods are discussing the burning question of assistance to needy worn-out preachers. The "Pastor Emeritus" is quite an institution in some of these synods, and they receive more or less from the emeritus fund according to the respective provinces. But the main subject of discussion now concerns the income of the poorer clergy, which is very small in many sections. These receive a fixed stipend from the State, or, as it is expressed, "by royal sanction;" but this is so small that in many cases it must be supplemented by the respective congregations, or the preachers must lead a miserable life with a very strained existence. An effort is now being made by the General Synod to compel, as far as possible, the special synods to do their duty in this matter. A fixed sum is recommended for churches according to their rank, and in some measure according to the years of service of the pastor. But many of the parishes to whom this dictature is addressed are resenting it, and feel much inclined to follow their own inclinations in this matter, guided by the circumstances as they understand them. The German pastor in the rural districts is a man of very controlling influence in all the religious and social relations of the people. In very many cases, he is so endeared to his parish that they cannot afford to see him want, and do not. But in very many cases, also, for various reasons, the pastor is forced to supplement his slender income by also performing the part of local teacher.

The fact must attract the attention of every observer of the religious activities of European Christians during the summer and autumnal months, that there has practically been almost no end to congresses, convocations,

synods, alliances, and associations in the interest of every line of thought and religious effort. Two of these that may be called representative in their character, and which most closely resemble each other for their style of labor, though contrasting in aims, are the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Copenhagen, and the famous Catholic Congress at Amberg in Germany. The editor, who was present at the former, felt the beneficent influence of a spirit of genuine liberalism at the hearth-stone of a Church which has preserved, more than any other in Protestantism, the tradition of ancient Lutheranism. He acknowledges that the new conditions arising in the religion of our epoch are very grave, and agrees with Christlieb in his view of the religious indifferentism of the period. The question of the hour is not so much to preserve the heritage of the fathers as to reconquer lost soil. This is to be done by the sword of the Spirit and the propagandism of free speech. The Gospel and liberty should be the device of the Christian Church; even science should have its liberty, and as far as possible there should be no conflict between this and religion.

The General Assembly of the German Catholics, in session about the same period at Amberg, debated from their point of view some of the same questions that were so thoroughly canvassed at Copenhagen. The most absorbing one of these was the mode to be adopted by the Catholic Church to reconquer the soil lost and to regain influence lost or weakened. These German Catholics declared that the first measure to be adopted was to gather closely around the Church of Rome, and to exalt more than ever the authority of the holy father. The letter addressed by the pope to this congress was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and there seemed to be a most emphatic determination to recognize the authority of the pope as infallible. At the last session the entire assembly cast itself on its knees in order the more emphatically to affirm this absolute submission. This adoration of the papacy was in very strange contrast to the conduct of the German bishops after the adoption of the famous dogma of the papal council of 1870. It is clear that ultramontanism has triumphed in Germany all along the line, not only in the matter of the infallibility of the Pope, but also of the immaculate conception of the Virgin. This decisive triumph in Germany is due largely to the terrible and stubborn struggle between the Catholic Church and the German Empire.

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#### DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

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THE CENTENNIAL CONFERENCE OF EPISCOPAL METHODISM has been held, and the general verdict—both of participants and more distant critics—seems to be that it was greatly successful, both in the immediate spiritual impulse of the gathering, and in the valuable contributions made by its members to the permanent literature of the denomination. The leading

religious papers throughout the country reported the particulars of each session very fully, and the secular press, both by report and comment, paid due attention to the importance and dignity of the Conference. Baltimore entertained its guests with unbounded hospitality. The enthusiasm was great, and exceptionally continuous in its manifestation, so that it is not possible by the reproduction of a few salient features to fairly portray the entire assembly. An attempt in that direction, however, is all that space allows.

There was much in the background of the scene, and in its incidental features, to add to its picturesque impressiveness. A wonderful contrast was presented by the magnificent gothic church in which the delegates assembled to the bare little chapel figured on the programmes, in which the first General Conference was held. The great outpourings of sacred melody, when the sweetest and grandest hymns of the Church were sung to historic chorals—Methodist tunes that never can die—will not soon be forgotten by those who heard them. The presence and admirable performance of many men of color was eminently noteworthy. A few venerable representatives of a former generation were there—some “in age and feebleness” extreme, but all with hearts of loyalty and thankfulness and utterances of pathos and inspiration.

If any feared that the Conference would degenerate into a mere occasion for prolonged denominational glorification they must have been happily disappointed. The tone of the papers read was certainly not pessimistic; nevertheless, no disposition was shown to evade the consideration of dangerous tendencies, wherever discovered. Some regret was at first expressed because of the monotonous similarity of the topics selected for discussion; but the individual characteristics of the several essayists precluded unnecessary repetition. The forthcoming volume, which is to contain the papers read and the addresses made, will be of exceptional and permanent value.

The “Pastoral Address to the Methodist People in the United States and Canada” calls attention to the fresh and impressive lessons of the history of the first century of organized Methodism, and commends the papers read before the Conference to the prayerful consideration of all. It declares that the mission of Methodism is not yet accomplished—“The victories that thrill and gladden our hearts to-day are but the prophecy of the triumphs in store for us if we prove worthy our calling.” The emphasis that Methodists have always given to the essential doctrines of Christianity, and especially to the “doctrines of experience”—repentance, faith, justification, adoption, the witness of the Spirit, sanctification, and Christian perfection—is commended, and watchfulness urged in view of the insidious advances of skepticism. The promotion of holiness; the maintenance of family religion; the devout observance of the Christian Sabbath, and active hostility against all vices are set forth as solemn duties that cannot be shirked or postponed. The rising spirit of fraternity between Churches is hailed as a pleasant indication of the dawn of a day of peace, and the Canadian brethren are congratulated upon the success

which has attended their movement for uniting the forces of Methodism in the Dominion. That the peculiarities of Methodist Church life are still cherished in the hearts of so many is observed with pleasure, while at the same time the exhortation is given to enter all fields of usefulness which the expansion of modern social life may open. It is a document of ability, devout in tone, and it has been received with general favor.

**THE BRITISH WESLEYAN CONFERENCE.**—The one hundred and forty-first session of the British Conference was held last July at Burslem, a little town on the road between Manchester and Birmingham, in the very heart of the region known as "the Potteries." Just one hundred and twenty-four years ago Mr. Wesley rode into the place. His ministry was greatly successful there, and the neighborhood has ever since been one of the strongholds of Methodism. This was the second time the Conference had met in Staffordshire. The entertainment was sumptuous.

Like their American congeners, the British Wesleyans have just celebrated one of the "centenaries" that so frequently mark the history of venerable historic bodies. That "peculiar institution," the Legal Hundred, was born just one hundred years ago, when Mr. Wesley's Deed of Declaration was executed. The existence of this little select circle in the midst of an ecclesiastical body so Presbyterian in many of its methods as is the Wesleyan Conference cannot but strangely impress an observer whose traditions are of the Methodist-Episcopal type; but it is a legal device, simply a board of trust, with only the least possible trend toward an aristocracy. If the utterance "Happy is the nation without a history" be applicable to religious as well as to political bodies, the Wesleyan Conference is indisputably prosperous. The Rev. F. Greeves, D.D., a well-known minister, was elected President, and the Rev. R. N. Young, one of the deputation to the late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, was chosen Secretary. The increase of members of society during the year was more than 3,000. The delivery of the Fernley lecture—this time by the Rev. B. Hellier, on the "Universal Mission of the Church of Christ;" the report of the fraternal delegates to America; the shelving of a preacher who had ceased to believe in the eternity of future punishment; and an earnest and memorable "conversation on the work of God," were among the more conspicuous features of the Conference. Immense missionary meetings and a series of open-air services for working-men made pleasing and healthful accompaniments to the regular business sessions. All the connectional institutions—the Missionary Society; the Wesleyan Theological Institution; the Sunday-School Union; the Metropolitan Building Fund; the Children's Home; the Thanksgiving Fund—are in prosperous condition.

**THE SALVATION ARMY.**—The crowded public meeting held in Exeter Hall, London, January 12, not only revealed the continued progress of the Salvation Army, but also showed how keenly alive its General is to avail himself of every opening to strengthen its position. The meeting was

held ostensibly to bid farewell to thirty officers—most of whom are young women—who were about to proceed to America, India, France, and New Zealand, to strengthen the army corps in those countries; and General Booth, who presided, made use of the opportunity to report the progress of the Army during the past year. He had about him, besides members of his own family, Mr. T. A. Denny, Mr. Haig Miller, and Dr. and Mrs. Heywood Smith. After singing one of their stirring hymns with all the enthusiasm of the Army's rank and file, and prayer, the General gave a statement of their present condition and future prospects.

He had to report, he said, progress, and hoped to do so to the end of the chapter. He considered the movement as a factor in the future of Christianity in the world. In January, 1883, they had 528 corps in the United Kingdom, with 1,340 officers; they had now 637 corps and 1,644 officers. Abroad, in 1883, they had 106 corps and 201 officers; now 273 corps and 692 officers. In addition to these 910 regular corps, they had occupied 570 villages, and had 415 corps of little soldiers. They were going to advance abroad, but would not neglect their home operations. In hundreds of towns and thousands of villages there was a great work to accomplish, and for this it was intended that caravans should be employed. Mr. Herbert Booth had prepared the plans, and, as soon as the money was ready, they would be built. Ten officers would traverse the country in each caravan—a kind of Wombwell's—with eight sleeping bunks, four on each side, and a cooking-stove in front; two officers would keep guard at night against "skeleton" attacks while the others slept. Each band would go from village to village; while the horses were grazing, the "War Cry" would be sold, the trumpets and cornets brought into use, and he hoped the public houses emptied, while people would gather from twenty miles around. The Army's power of adaptation was unlimited, and in India Major Tucker had started a "Camel Corps," and he (the General) intended to ask the government for a gift of the camels employed in the Soudan after General Gordon had been relieved. Before the meeting was over, several volunteers for this corps were accepted from the "reserved" seats. Among the new agencies started in London by the Army is a "Rescue Society" in St. Giles and Whitechapel; in this "some dear girls, bred up as ladies, have gone with scrubbing-brushes and brooms, cleaned poor homes, washed babes, talked to drunken fathers," and been the means of rescuing some of the most wretched and outcast ones from the slums of London. More workers are wanted for this "Cellar, Garret, and Gutter Brigade." A movement has also been begun in Whitechapel for the rescue of fallen women; no fewer than eighty girls have been cared for, and sixty appear to be permanently reclaimed. The "Drunkard's Rescue Brigade" takes charge of drunken persons ejected from the public houses. The brigade "prowl about the streets," lead drunkards home, give them a preparation of coffee on the way—the coffee being carried in a pouch—and next day "the drunkard and his wife are got to the barracks and saved." The orphans are not neglected. The Army has accepted a freehold house, capable of accommodating 200 chil-

dren, for an orphanage. A "Prison Brigade" has been formed to receive criminals when discharged from jail; seven notorious ones are already earning their living, giving evidence of being converted men. Mrs. Railton had this work in hand, but being now on the ocean with her husband—a journey undertaken to save Commissioner Railton's life—a gentleman has thrown up his commission in the Royal Engineers, retiring with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, to undertake the work and devote his whole life to the Army. The Prison Brigade in Australia has been formally recognized. In London a German and, more recently, an Italian corps has been established, and during the first six months of 1885 barracks are to be opened to accommodate 10,000 people—at Kilburn, the West End ("at a nice, snug, beautiful theater"), Marylebone, King's Cross, Holloway, Deptford, Forest Hill, and Clapton. The Army's foreign work is almost self-supporting; last year only £5,000 was raised at home for its prosecution. In Ceylon a surprising work has been achieved; some hundred Buddhists have been converted and received into the Army. China, Spain, and other countries remained to be occupied.

The General's report being finished, the thirty officers were paraded on the platform: he exhorted them to fidelity to duty, and presented them with their commissions, each one being inclosed in an envelope. Loud cries of "Amen!" and "Halleluiah!" with volleys of cheers, came from the rank and file. Mr. T. A. Denny—always present at these meetings, and a large donor to the funds—announced that he would defray the cost of twelve officers in India. Mrs. Booth followed with an earnest and persuasive address. She deplored the refusal of parents and guardians to allow their children or charges to go abroad in the Army service, and boldly advised those young people who are "led" to offer themselves for this work to go, whether they obtained permission or not. The General stated that £480 was needed for the outfit and passage money of the officers, and the general funds could not be burdened with the cost. He appealed for this sum to be contributed, and £200 was raised in response.

**THE POOR OF THE GREAT CITIES.**—Unusual attention has of late been called to the deplorable condition of the crowded poor in the great cities of Christendom. The deep echoes of half-suppressed Socialistic explosions indicate that the discussion has come none too soon. Not much has hitherto been done beyond a statement of the case—a sort of diagnosis of a great moral and social disease.

A conference was lately held in London at the rooms of the British Social Science Association for the discussion of measures relative to the formation of village communities for the relief of the overcrowded and woefully degraded quarters of the metropolis, and for the collecting and dispensing of such information as should in time, if possible, lead to the removal of numbers of families from the London slums to rural neighborhoods, the establishing of them there in good homes, the providing of them with suitable employment, and other measures essential to the success of such an undertaking. In connection with factory and other artisan work, the

practicability of co-operative farms was discussed, in the hope of being able, soon or later, to imitate in England the example of the numerous communities in Switzerland whose manual working classes, living in their own country-like homes, have a little time toward the close of each day for the tilling of their plots, and the care of their goats and cows, alternating thus their periods of mechanical toil with the salutary and soothing influence of rural life. One of the speakers, Mr. E. T. Craik, had been one of a number of gentlemen to establish a co-operative farm in Ireland, a project that had been regarded with favor by Mr. Parnell, who had also expressed the hope that other lands, in some of the more miserable parts of the island, might be brought into use for similar purposes. Unfortunately, the land-owners of the district had so strongly opposed the project of Mr. Craik and his associates as to thwart it entirely. But while all humane persons must wish the utmost of success for such undertakings, the fact remains that the greater part of the miserably housed and generally wretched of the cities must be cared for where they are, in the place of their dismal abodes. It is these abodes that are to be renovated and improved up to the level of decency and propriety. The families of cigar-makers and of rag-pickers cannot be transported in masses to the country. Not one such family, not one individual of the grade below these, can be transported thus, unwillingly.

A talented writer, who has lately contributed to "The American Reformer" the best statement recently printed of the sufferings of the degraded poor, proceeds, after giving the facts repeated above, to make some eminently sensible suggestions as to the remedy. "The prime effort must be made in procuring for this element of the city populations light, air, space, provisions for some degree of cleanliness in their present quarters. And nothing really is wanting to effect this change but the fixed intention, the resolve, of these ruling classes. Whenever a citizen's association shall take the tenement question in hand, as such associations have already taken the subject of municipal rings and 'bosses' in hand, the horrible quarters of great cities will cease to be horrible. To such a reform the world will accord a not reluctant recognition. It will cheerfully admit that at last it has an example of fraternal regard, of practical Christianity, worthy of the name of the Master. No insuperable obstacle lies in the way of a legislative enactment for the demolition of the rear tenements—buildings that cruelly restrict tens of thousands of human beings in respect of space, and as cruelly shut them off from light and air. The abrogation of these rear houses would be an important initial step in the direction of improvement. A second clause in the enactment should provide the requisite hygienic supply of space, light, and air for the tenement lodgers of the front buildings. Their present overcrowding once made illegal, the recklessness of the builders of these structures and the greed of their landlords would have to give way."

The second proposed remedy is some legal measure which shall suppress the dram shops. Soon after the publication of "The Bitter Cry," when the public feeling of England was deeply stirred by this appeal to its

humanity, a well-known worker among the London poor wrote: "In this hour of interest and of sympathy, we might combine to remove the dwellers of the slums into homes containing all the comforts and beauty of palaces. But, if we left standing near at hand the reeking drink shops, in half a year the new homes would be as squalid, as foul, as hideous every way as the herding places of the slums are to-day." As long as these are permitted to curse the community, all efforts towards lifting up the degraded masses will be almost entirely hopeless.

The evil of overcrowding is not by any means confined to the older countries. The writer already quoted makes the following statement concerning the great metropolis of America: "The city of New York was founded in 1633. Its population, including that of the environs that are properly a part of it, is above two millions. The Christian element of this population is not far from one million. The tenement house population is upward of three hundred thousand. In other words, during a period of two hundred and fifty years the Christianized portion of the citizens of the metropolis have permitted the weaker, the less enlightened, the helpless class of its population, at present numbering nearly one seventh of the entire population, to live deprived of such space, light, and air as are necessary for health and decency, and surrounded with every baleful influence calculated to demoralize and render utterly wretched this lower, feeble class. One would hardly err in affirming that the strong, Christianized class of citizens had deliberately, designedly, fostered a hideous breeding-ground of moral pestilence, a nursery and community of criminals, a quarter for the development of human misery, by permitting the growth of the slums, and by taking practically no measures for the checking of this growth."

Strong as is this arraignment, it perhaps does not present in the strongest light this awful truth. The following table gives some comparative figures:

	Population.	Houses.	Average inmates per house.
Philadelphia.....	847,170	146,412	6
Brooklyn.....	566,663	62,233	9
Saint Louis.....	350,518	43,026	8
Chicago.....	503,185	61,069	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Baltimore.....	332,313	50,833	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Boston.....	362,839	43,944	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
New York.....	1,206,689	73,684	16 $\frac{1}{4}$

Even this table fails to convey all the truth. In New York city 10,314 dwellings contain each one family of six persons; 16,982 houses or flats contain one family on each floor, or 25 persons in each building; while 18,966 tenements contain an average of about 50 persons each, or almost a million in all. This million is unprecedentedly crowded, and its physical and moral unhappiness and misery clamor for means of relief. Mayor Edson hardly exaggerated when he said: "The question of comfortable city homes for our poor is quite as important as that of foreign missions." And yet even he dared not touch the chief cause of all this wretchedness.

**MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.**

**MISSIONARY SUCCESSES IN CENTRAL AFRICA.** — The latest mail from Uganda, at the northern end of Lake Victoria Nyanza, Central Africa, brings some very interesting letters from the missionaries of the Church (Evangelical Anglican) Missionary Society. In our January number we spoke of this mission, the difficulties it had met, and its prospects. King Mtesa, who at first gave the missionaries much trouble, and made their work almost futile by his sudden changes of opinion, is now quite friendly to them, and the mission is very prosperous. The number of converts is increasing rapidly, the schools are well patronized, and the native worship of Lubari and the religion of the Arabs are declining. Mr. O'Flaherty, one of the missionaries, gives a very interesting account of a trial before the king, between himself and four of the Arabs, to see whether he or they had the better understanding of the "Koran." The Arabs had become very loud and impudent, and were present nearly every day in court teaching the "Koran" to the chiefs. Mr. O'Flaherty, thinking that their baleful influence had gone far enough, proposed to Mtesa a contest. The king gladly consented to it. He ordered five chairs to be set before him, four for the principal Arabs, and one for the missionary, and proclaimed that whoever answered best should be his head professor and teacher. The day before the trial took place he invited Mr. O'Flaherty to dine with him, and got many hints from him as to the sort of questions he should ask. We will let Mr. O'Flaherty describe the scene:

Next day he [Mtesa] placed the five mwalimus on the chairs; I was placed near himself. The king questioned, I prompting him. In the course of fifty minutes all the Arabs were off the chairs except Masudi, an arch-foe, and now a powerful sub-chief here, the most clever of all. He and I now confronted each other. Greek met Greek. The king was amused, and so were the chiefs. In thirty more minutes Masudi was off the chair and I alone on. The chiefs loudly applauded, and Masudi, getting angry, loudly insulted, and the Arabs loudly joined him, and said I was worthy of death, an incorrigible kafir. I calmly asked the king, "Mtesa, you see this man whom you in your kindness made manakulya. What does he know about religion? You see how little he knows about his own 'Koran' and its teaching, and how I, a foreigner, have shown you these Arabs are babes. He, a drunkard of whom all Arabs are ashamed, a kafir who eats the king's meat contrary to the 'Koran,' and with whom true Moslems would not mix; who calls you his god, and therefore denies the Islamic creed: 'There is no God but Allah,' and whom every true Moslem is bound by his creed to kill—how dare he teach *you* religion, he whom Mohammed will punish, whom Jesus despises, and whom even heathenism hates?" Masudi went off in a rage, and the keepers of the gate, hearing of the affair, laughed at him. After this the king ordered his people to keep Sunday sacred, and ordeted his flag to be hoisted on that day.

Many private interviews followed between O'Flaherty and the king, and the latter was invited to come regularly to the royal quarters by a private way. But the king may soon find occasion to change his mind, though the missionaries have obtained a strong influence over him. This they have proved by inducing him to countermand an order to open war

on a neighboring tribe. A force of the king's had pillaged the Basogas, and the latter had gathered in force, and almost annihilated the invaders. The king and his chiefs were in a rage about it, and a royal order had been issued to raise an army and exterminate the Basogas. Mr. O'Flaherty attended the council of war, and besought the king not to go against the Basogas. He told him that his own men had been the aggressors, and the Basogas had only rallied for their own protection, which proved them to be a brave people. The Arabs counseled the king to go on with the expedition, and said O'Flaherty ought to be driven from the court. But Mtesa, after serious thought, said, addressing Mr. O'Flaherty: "I think, Philipo, that you have not lied. You have shown me plainly that the Basogas have only done what we would have done under the same circumstances. You have made plain what I never thought of before. I have heard your pleading and granted your request." The war-flag was accordingly taken down, and the "horrid Arabs," as O'Flaherty calls them, were much chagrined. Several members of the royal family have become faithful Christians and have been baptized. The whole number of baptized persons is now 68, of whom 40 are communicants. Seven of the communicants have been organized as a sort of diaconate. In case of the expulsion of the missionaries they could preserve the Church. The first five were baptized in March, 1882. A young chief named Sebwato has accepted Christianity, and sent away all his wives but one, a severe test, as it is a badge of disgrace in Waganda society. Small-pox has made terrible ravages in Buganda, carrying off several converts, among them one of the king's daughters. The missionaries have translated a considerable body of Christian literature into the Ruganda. The following is a verse of the hymn, "Safe in the Arms of Jesus:"

" Mu mikono gya ISA :  
Emirembe bulijo,  
Tetulina entisa :  
Tulina esanyu nylo.  
Muwulira edobozzi  
Mu Gulu, liyogera,  
ISA Ye Mulokozi:  
Ye alina empera.  
Mu mikono gya ISA  
Emirembe bulijo ;  
Tetulina entisa ;  
- Tulina esanyu nylo."

**MORAVIAN MISSIONS.**—Last year (January, 1884) the sesqui-centennial of the Greenland Mission was celebrated. There are few things more sad than the confession which is made in the annual report of the Moravian Missionary Society, issued in December, of the condition of these hardy people of the north. "If," says the report, "we cast a glance at the spiritual and social state of the Greenlanders at the time when our work among them was inaugurated, and compare it with their condition at the present time, we cannot fail to notice how little visible progress, in some respects, has been made during those one hundred and fifty years. Only

a slight change has taken place in the social condition of these inhabitants. They appear to have acquired but little additional force of character, and with regard to their spiritual life they must still be considered as too much resembling grown-up children." Yet the missionaries have found reason to rejoice over the numbers who have been constrained to confess Christ, have lived consistently, and have died happy in the faith. The force of native helpers it is somewhat difficult to maintain in efficiency, so weak are many in character. Pride, partiality, spiritual indifference, are some of their great faults. Nor is there much that is encouraging to report of the mission in Australia. The aborigines are slowly disappearing, and year by year the number of converts decreases, yet there is no thought of abandoning the mission while there are poor blacks to be reached. On the contrary, the society hopes to extend its labors to New South Wales and Queensland, where the aborigines are more numerous. The government cares for them, as does ours for the Indians, but the half-breeds, who are well able to care for themselves, are cast upon their own resources. It is pleasant to know that "in almost all cases the native Christians adorn the doctrine of Christ their Saviour by their consistent lives." And yet many of the dominant race of Australia deny that these poor blacks are human beings, with souls! For many years some of the singularly patient missionaries of this faithful missionary Church have been waiting on the frontier of Thibet for an opportunity to enter that country. They have worked on amid great discouragements at Kyelang and Poo, frequently petitioning the authorities for permission to settle in the Thibetan province of Ladak, but always getting a refusal. At last they have succeeded, and will form a station at Leh, the capital of Ladak, where they will find the nucleus of a Church, for some of the Ladakese became converts at Poo and Kyelang. Two Moravians made an exploring expedition to Alaska last summer, and reported in favor of establishing a mission in Oonalaska, and the probability is that missionaries will be sent thither at an early day.

**THE FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.**—The administration of the missionary concerns of the Protestant Episcopal Church is in the hands of a Board of Managers. The Board of Missions, which is the supreme authority, is simply the two houses of the triennial General Convention sitting together to consider the missionary interests of the Church. This Board of Missions chooses fifteen presbyters and fifteen laymen, who, together with the bishops and the missionary treasurers, constitute the Board of Managers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. This Board forms from its own members two general committees, one for domestic, the other for foreign missions. The Board of Managers is empowered to establish and regulate such missions as are not under episcopal supervision. Appropriations for dioceses or missionary jurisdictions having bishops are made in bulk, and the bishops regulate the number of stations, and appoint the missionaries and fix their stipends with the approval of the Board of Managers. The receipts for foreign

missions last year were nearly \$135,000, of which amount no more than \$15,838 was received from legacies—the smallest sum from this source since 1877. The total of receipts also shows a very large decrease. The income for domestic missions was \$208,718, which is an increase over the previous year of about \$28,000, but a decrease from the returns of 1881 and 1882. The missions at home embrace the Indian, Chinese, and colored populations as well as the white people. Among the last there are 12 bishops, 338 clergymen, and 8 women helpers; among the colored people, 18 white and 23 colored clergymen, and 32 agents and teachers; among the Indians, one bishop, 14 white and 13 Indian clergymen, and 32 agents and teachers; among the Chinese, one Chinese clergymen. The report of the Foreign Committee speaks of changes in the missionary episcopate and in the missionary force as constituting two of the most notable features of the year, the third being the attention given to purely evangelistic work, and the increase of communicants in Japan. The committee say the work has been more productive than usual; but it is to be remembered that the foreign missions of this Church have not been successful in the same degree as those of other Churches. There are three missions—those of Africa, China, and Japan; and besides these the Haytian Church, to which help is given, and the Church of Jesus in Mexico, for which funds are raised by the Mexican League. These missions report a total of 896 communicants, of whom 46 are European or American. The Greek mission is simply an educational work. The African mission is nearly half a century old. It has a total of 425 communicants. Eighty-six missionaries from the United States have labored in it, of whom twenty-eight died in the field, and it has had, including the present incumbent, four bishops. It occupies what was regarded as the most promising field in Africa a generation ago—Liberia. Our own Church has had but little encouragement to make large appropriations in late years to our Liberian mission, yet our Episcopal friends are not discouraged. A new bishop, a product of the mission, has been chosen, and the committee say the work was never more promising. The mission is divided into three districts, the Cape Palmas, which gives name to the diocese, Sinoe and Bassa, and Monrovia and Cape Mount. Of the 425 communicants, 247 are classed as Liberian, 177 as native, and one as American. Three stations in the Cape Palmas District, two of which are purely native, report 221 communicants, of whom more than half are Greboes. The preachers say that the people evince much more interest than formerly in religious services, and it is believed 10,000 persons are reached by the ministrations in the district. Work has been going on at Cape Mount since 1878, and a system of schools exists throughout the mission. The mission in China dates from 1835, when the Rev. Henry Lockwood, who died last year, and the Rev. F. R. Hanson, who died some years ago, were sent out. Nine years passed before the first convert was secured—Kong Chai Wong, who was the first native deacon and presbyter of the Church. Since his ordination sixteen others have entered the priesthood, and eleven are preparing for Holy Orders. Bishop

Schereschewsky has resigned, and the Rev. W. J. Boone, a missionary, has been elected to succeed him. A feature of the mission is its educational work, St. John's College and St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai, being the chief institutions. Much of the evangelistic work is done by the native clergy, who appear to be very efficient. The report on Japan gives little of general interest beyond statistical items. The Bishop of Yedo's report, which is printed as an appendix, mentions the formation of a Japanese missionary society as one of the features of the year. The Mexican mission work, of which Bishop Riley was the head, and of which he gave glowing reports, has shrunk remarkably since the making up of his annual returns passed into other hands. We used to hear about the sixty or more congregations in the Valley of Mexico and the great Cathedral in the City of Mexico. The report of the Mexican League this year modestly speaks of two congregations in the city, one of two hundred in the Cathedral, and "congregations in the Valley of Mexico," and at three other places, "besides scattered groups of converts in other districts." "These are ministered to by eleven ordained clergymen and many lay readers." The dream of a great reformed Mexican Church, to be formed of Catholics anxious to break away from the Church of Rome, has been discovered to be very unsubstantial.

**MISSION WORK IN SYRIA.**—The history of the Syrian mission of the American Board is well known. It was one of the earliest undertakings of that pioneer society. Fisk and Parsons are names associated with the beginnings of this mission. They were appointed in 1818, but it was not until 1821 that Mr. Parsons reached the field, which was Jerusalem and environs. The Holy City proved to be a poor missionary center, and was ere long abandoned, but not before Beirût had been chosen as a more promising station. Bird and Goodell were the founders of this enterprise, which is now sixty-one years old, and which has cost much in labor, patience, and treasure. The press and the school have been among its chief agencies in reaching the people, or rather the nominal Christians, for the Moslems have scarcely been touched until quite recently. In 1870, when the co-operation of the New School Presbyterians with the American Board ceased by reason of the great Presbyterian reunion, the Board transferred the Syrian mission to the Board of the reunited Church. In recent years the promise of the mission has greatly improved, and the past year has been perhaps its best. Ten years ago the number of communicants was 437; now it is about 1,200. The addition last year was 120. When it is understood that members are only received after the most careful examination, and after considerable delay, and that persecution and suffering are still known to those who accept the Gospel, the increase of the past year appears very encouraging. The churches composing the mission are scattered, attendants at a convention in Beirût some time ago coming from fifty-three towns and cities. They are being trained, we are told, more and more to self-support, and to efforts to spread the Gospel. They have been formed into a presbytery, and are

learning how to govern themselves. In 1883 twenty-two elders were ordained. In the schools are 6,000 pupils, and the press has turned out an enormous amount of Christian literature in Arabic. On the 17th of September the Presbytery held its second meeting at Hasbeiya, at the foot of Mount Hermon. Kos Selin, a native pastor, preached the sermon. Reports were listened to from Tyre, Sidon, and other places of scriptural fame. We copy some of the paragraphs in Dr. Eddy's account of the meeting :

The report from Alma told of the great trials of the community from the hostility of the Maronites of their village, and from the incursions of the neighboring Bedouin, robbing them of their cattle, and of their poverty and suffering in consequence. The report from Tyre told of the obstacles to the Gospel in that city, the threats against Protestants, the fines unjustly extorted, the withdrawal of custom from the shops of some and the cutting off of employment from others. A fisherman who had gone to Beirút and had brought back with him a Bible, which had been the means of his enlightenment, was particularly a sufferer, as he knew no other means of livelihood except the one trade from which he was thrust out. The Mejdeluna report, stating the amounts contributed by the Church members for the Gospel, astonished all: \$123 for Church work, and about \$32 besides for the belfry. This was the banner church for liberality in proportion to its size, as it was foremost in aggressive work in the surrounding villages. The other sects had complained of this zeal in preaching Christ as "persecution of them by the Protestants." Sidon Church had also wonderfully increased its contributions during the year. The Mejded report of \$45 pledged for the support of the preacher the coming year gave it the second place among those giving out of their deep poverty unto the Lord. Part of the time was also spent in listening to a well-prepared paper by one of the delegates on the duties of elders, followed by an address by the Moderator, Rev. W. K. Eddy, on Church discipline. An interesting feature of the exercises was the report of the school for Bedouin boys, held in Jedaïda. This is its second year. It is peculiarly the child of the native churches in Syria, and is independent of foreign aid. Seven boys from various tribes of desert Arabs have been clothed, fed, and taught during the year. Only one of them before his coming had heard of God. The contributions to this school amounted to \$192 64.

**EXPLORATION OF NEW GUINEA.**—If Australia be considered a continent, New Guinea is the largest island in the world. It belongs to the Melanesian group, which also includes New Caledonia, New Britain, and New Ireland. The people are unmistakably of the Negro race, with woolly heads and jet black skin and flat features. Those of New Guinea embrace several varieties, among which the bush Negroes are considered the real Papuans or aborigines, and are being exterminated in some localities by the dominant tribes. The natives of New Guinea are probably the worst savages in the Pacific Ocean. They are cannibals, and many an unfortunate mariner has been devoured by them. New Guinea lies just north of Australia, separated only at the nearest point by Torres Straits, and the Queensland government has long been desirous of annexing at least a portion of the island. The Colonial Office in London has refused to give its consent until recently partly on the ground of fear that the Queenslanders would oppress and make virtual slaves of the islanders. The Australians, like the Boers in South Africa, have not the highest regard for subject races. The British government has, however, at last consented to annexation, and the British

flag flies over a part of the great and largely unknown island. This act has an interest, not alone for the political and commercial, but also for the missionary, world. If New Guinea is ever civilized, as it undoubtedly will be, missionary influence will be the first and greatest force in accomplishing the great undertaking. The London Missionary Society has been trying to educate and evangelize the New Guinea people for more than twelve years; but it is only recently that stations have been established in New Guinea itself. A church and a training institution on Murray Island, in the Straits, may be regarded as the beginning and center of the mission. There are also stations on other small islands from which the work has spread to New Guinea. It is worthy of note that the teachers by whose help the missionaries have already accomplished so much are South Sea natives, who gladly gave themselves for the New Guinea savages. Many of them have laid down their lives in this cause. The missionaries have discovered and explored Fly River, which is a mighty stream over ten miles wide at its mouth, flowing in a southerly course how many hundreds of miles nobody knows. On this river several stations have been established, and the people show the same facility in dropping their savage customs, in learning to read and write, and in turning from heathenism to Christianity that the South Sea Islanders have exhibited. Large classes of them are being prepared as teachers in the training institutions on Murray Island and at Port Moresby, and some are already at work on Fly River. There are in all twenty-nine teachers at work under the direction of Messrs. Lawes and Chalmers, with twelve hundred children under instruction. New Guinea is very rich in vegetable productions. It is said that the natives sell bundles of sago palm weighing sixty pounds for four sticks of tobacco. The Rev. S. Macfarlane, who recently made a trip up Fly River, describes a house he saw in one of the villages which was five hundred and twelve feet long by thirty wide. Many of the people wear no clothing.

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#### THE MAGAZINES.

ONE of the most noteworthy of recent magazine articles is that by the Rev. Washington Gladden in the January "Century" on "Christianity and Popular Amusements." With the principles laid down few will find fault. Mr. Gladden believes that the following are the true principles by which family, church, and individual action ought to be guided, namely: 1. Amusement is not an end, but a means: when it begins to be the principal thing for which one lives, or when in pursuing it the mental powers are enfeebled and the bodily health impaired, it falls under just condemnation. 2. Amusements which consume the hours which ought to be devoted to sleep are therefore censurable. 3. Amusements which call us away from work, which we are bound to do, are pernicious, just to the

extent to which they make us unfaithful or neglectful. 4. Amusements which rouse or stimulate morbid appetites or unlawful passions, or that cause us to be restless or discontented, are always to be avoided. 5. Any amusements which have a tendency to weaken our respect for the great interests of character, or to loosen our hold on the great verities of the spiritual realm, are so far forth a damage to us. The writer believes that the best the pulpit can do is to enforce such maxims as these. In his view the Church must use reason rather than authority. But the Church, in his thought, has something more to do than to regulate and discriminate between the amusements offered. She has gone as far as she ought in providing within her own doors amusements for her people. Her true work is to stir up those who have some regard for the true and the pure in these matters to provide, as a part of the practical benevolence of the Christian life, amusements which can elevate the taste and morals of the masses, and particularly of the working people. The author holds, that just as the Church disregards the law of supply and demand in the missionary and educational enterprises, so she ought to take the lead in reforming amusements by her influence over those who, under Christian inspiration, are seeking outlets for means and energy.

An example of what the writer deems effective and well-guarded work in this direction is to be found in the city of Cleveland, Ohio. There an institution calling itself an "Educational Bureau" has existed for three seasons, and has achieved great success in doing the work outlined by Mr. Gladden. It pays its own way and gathers great audiences, and entertains them with scientific, semi-political, musical, and literary matters. These gatherings are held in a hall which is open on Sunday for religious services. The statement is made that the attendance at the religious services has increased, and from the classes which attend the entertainments in large numbers. While we commend the article as deserving study, there are some things we should much like to know before approving it. What is the effect of this movement on the churches? What do the pastors think of it? What evidence is there to show that the institution really does more than appeal to the same classes which support the churches? Every one knows that the Young Men's Christian Associations of the country absorb the activities of the Church almost as much as they add to the Church's strength. Does this movement, as friendly to the working classes, draw on the Church, and create prejudice against it? We see no evidence that beyond the requirements of secular morality the platform of this "Bureau" has any Christian quality. No one who has studied this question of popular amusements can doubt that that which gives many of them their hold on the public is the element of impurity, which, as Mr. Gladden admits, is to be found in the majority of the popular attractions. The evil reputation of some public performers is part, and a large part, of their stock in trade. We have not the slightest faith that any pure entertainment under Church auspices can long compete with those in which the attractions of the persons and plays are those of the flesh. The high seasoning of sin is that which sin likes. We believe that the Church can make no compro-

mise with the world on the subject of its chosen pleasures. The Church must insist that the life of Christian purity finds its pleasures and its recreations outside that circle which is the invention of a spirit wholly antagonistic to Christianity. Bunyan may have been fanatical when he felt that the "tipeat" of his boyhood was his darling sin; but "tipeat," as Bunyan played it, may have been, after all, a spiritual danger as great as he thought it to be. The experience of a life-time confirms the old position of the Church, that a devout soul has in its love for Christ, and in the growths and activities inspired by that love, the liberties and bounds of its whole nature.

Our readers will find in the same number a masterly discussion of the "Freedman's Case in Equity." The novelist George W. Cable is the author, who knows the South and the Negro as only a southerner can know them. It is a marvel that it has taken only twenty years from the war to produce an utterance like this from a southern man. What northern man could write such words as these, concerning the feeling and practices of the South toward the colored man?

It proffers to the freedman a certain security for life and property, and then holds the respect of the community, that dearest of earthly boons, beyond his attainment. It gives him a certain guarantee against thieves and robbers, and then holds him under the unearned contumely of the mass of good men and women. It acknowledges in constitutions and statutes his title to an American's freedom and aspirations, and then in daily practice heaps upon him in every public place the most odious distinctions, without giving ear to the humblest plea concerning mental and moral character. It spurns his ambition, tramples upon his languishing self-respect, and indignantly refuses to let him buy with money or earn by any excellence of inner life and outward behavior the most momentary immunity from these public indignities, even for his wife and daughters. . . . This is simply the avowed state of affairs, and the defended state of affairs peeled of its exteriors.

Whatever may be the reader's political views, he cannot afford to allow this striking and indignant article to go unread.

We also commend the paper on Church Architecture for the beauty of its engravings and the excellent description of several of the most attractive of recent churches.

In the January Harper's will be found one of the best of recent historical studies. Wyclif (that is the fashion now to spell the name) is presented as one to whom Christianity owes a debt as yet scantily paid in the honors rendered to his memory. This does not prevent Mr. Ward from seeing that the character of the great translator had its shadows. While his work was for the people, there was a certain hardness in his mental constitution which prevented him from being a practical leader of the people. He was not without intellectual pride, and regarded the assent of the masses to a doctrine as affording a presumption of its foolishness. He was in no sense a flatterer of the masses, and yet his work was for them. To them his life appealed. This paper is admirable in its candor, and the illustrations, partly reproductions of old prints, are of the highest order. Artistically, the chief paper in this number is by Seymour Haden, who, though an amateur, has put himself at the head of English etchers. He

writes of Mezzotint as a painter's art, and shows what can be done in this long-neglected method by many charming illustrations of the Isle of Purbeck. The engravers have reproduced his work with wonderful accuracy, and the illustrations show a mastery of methods which puts our American magazines a step farther in advance.

H. M. Newhall succeeds in giving high interest to the making of a pair of shoes, by following the process from the rawhide to its dainty resurrection as a lady's shoe. The artists contrive to throw a pretty tint on this prosaic occupation, and the paper has merits of the highest order. John Fiske, who is one of the ablest of our scientific political students, does some valuable work in his paper on "The Town Meeting." First sketching the institution as it was developed in New England, he follows back its history to early Aryan times, and shows how the appearance of self-government in England is connected with that "boundless vitality which has given to men of English speech the uttermost parts of the earth for their inheritance." He looks upon the victory of Wolfe as the greatest turning-point discernible in modern history.

The reprint of Goldsmith's comedy, "She Stoops to Conquer," is admirably illustrated, but it would appear that Methodism has achieved sufficient place in the world to warrant the editor in omitting the scurrilous song with which the present section of the play opens. The firm reprinting this play ought not to forget that the founders of their great house held a different opinion of Methodist preachers from that which finds expression in this ribald and indecent song.

"When Methodist preachers come down  
A-preaching that drinking is sinful,  
I'll wager the rascals a crown  
They always preach best with a skinful.  
But when you come down with your pence,  
For a slice of their scurvy religion,  
I'll leave it to all men of sense  
But you, my good friend, are the pigeon."

Lippincott's Magazine has so much merit that it deserves more notice from the press than it receives. It does not successfully compete with the New York magazines in the matter of illustrations, but no recent number has been without matter of permanent value and interest. The January number has only a frontispiece, and that is very poorly drawn, but in the papers on "Rome and the Campagna," on the "Bismarcks," and on the "Inventor of the Ayrshire Life Car," are facts of much worth.

The January number of the "Expositor" (English) is noteworthy for a remarkably fine exposition of the parable of Dives and Lazarus, by the Rev. Marcus Dodds. Of equal merit is a first paper by Henry Drummond, the author of "Natural Law in the Supernatural World," on "The Contributions of Science to Christianity." This series is sure to be of permanent value to ministers, as Prof. Drummond is probably the best furnished man in England for the work to which he here addresses himself.

The subject of ministerial education is still a live one, as witness the symposium in the "Homiletic Monthly" for January. Dr. Curry, the editor of this review, opens the discussion, and concludes that the methods even of our own theological seminaries are not altogether satisfactory. This is to be followed by papers from other hands, and the series is sure to attract great attention.

Some time ago a good brother was in our hearing exalted to rapturous praises by a young minister's quotation from Shakespeare. The vigorous and attractive article in the "Homiletic Monthly" by Prof. J. O. Murray, D.D., of Princeton, reminds us of this fact. The Professor advocates the use of Shakespearean quotation and illustration in the pulpit, and gives instances of truth, condensed and weighty, which the great dramatist has furnished to the religious teacher. Nevertheless it is best to be sparing in drawing on dramatic poetry in the pulpit. We fear that our good brother would not have shouted "Glory to God," if he had known that the young preacher was quoting from the dramatic literature of which, all his life, he had been in what he esteemed a healthy ignorance. Some knotty practical and pastoral questions will grow up about that minister who betrays as much familiarity with the literature of the stage as of the Church. His young people will ask him some puzzling questions as to the difference between listening to Shakespeare from the pulpit and from the stage. The questions may not be wholly intelligent, but they cannot be answered without some deep and painful thought.

In the line of illustration and historical interest the recent magazines have had nothing more beautiful and interesting than the account in "Cassell's Magazine of Art" of Hatfield House. This home of the Cecils is hardly surpassed in architectural and historical interest by any of the great family residences of England. Our readers will find these papers, which began in the December number, fascinating both in text and illustration. Some excellent sketches of the pictures in the exhibition of the American Art Association are given as a supplement to the January number.

Richard Grant White, though not always a just writer, is always interesting. A paper from his pen in the January Atlantic on "The 'H' Malady in England" is one of his best. He follows this English peculiarity back as far as English history will permit, and shows that it is by no means a recent matter. He also makes visible the fact that this habit of dropping and inserting the aspirate in the wrong places is partly a matter of social position and partly of locality. Trifling as the subject appears at first sight, in Mr. White's hands it attains the dignity of a linguistic study. In the same number H. E. Scudder has a scholarly picture of "Childhood in Greek and Roman Literature." With the exception of some characteristic extracts on winter from the journal of Henry D. Thoreau and some delightful bits from Dr. Holmes in his "New Portfolio," the other papers are of temporary or imaginative interest.

## BOOK NOTICES.

## RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

*The Theocratic Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, the Christ, as Covenanted in the Old Testament, and Presented in the New Testament.* By Rev. GEO. N. H. PETERS, A.M. Three vols., 8vo, pp. 701, 780, 694. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The last words concerning "the last things" most certainly had not been uttered before the coming of this great work. *Great* it certainly is in more than single sense; in extent, two thousand one hundred and seventy-five large and well filled-up pages, two hundred and six propositions clearly stated and exhaustively elaborated, and the entire field of eschatological literature brought under contribution. The author, it would seem, never became impatient, never made haste, and never asked himself whether or not his readers would be equally patient and painstaking. Thirty years of active labor, we are told, were given to the work—a period that pretty well covers the whole term of an active life-time. Of the wisdom of so employing one's little space of time, opinions will be largely affected by the estimate of the value of the result; and of that who will judge, if indeed the work must be read through in order that its worth may be ascertained? Should some one, laying aside all other studies, give himself wholly to this one work, reading one hundred pages per week—which with the proper verification of references would make a pretty full task—and allowing for only slight interruptions, he might compass the whole in about six months. It may be that such a one will be found, but not many, it may be hoped.

The view of "the kingdom" here given and defended is the pre-millenarian, the literal, personal reign of Christ in the world as an outward political potentate, and the conqueror of all nations, with attendant or sequent events and conditions of climatic and cosmic re-adjustments, the ingathering of the Jews, the overthrow of Antichrist, the wars of Gog and Magog, and the hopeless and irretrievable casting down of the devil and his angels, and with them all the "non-elect" of mankind. The scheme is grand in its proportions, and it is thoroughly wrought out, with abundant citations of Scripture, which, as they are interpreted by the author and his whole school, are made to sustain the positions as they are stated and fixed in the successive "propositions;" and if his rules of interpretation are allowed, it might be difficult to refute his arguments or gainsay his conclusions. If these are not to be accepted, the issue must be joined at the threshold by a sweeping denial of the prevalent literalistic methods of interpretation; and that would call for not inconsiderable modifications of many traditional opinions and modes of thinking. That such modifications will be made, and under their direction the whole eschatology of the Church of the past be reconstructed, and set in a clearer light than in all former times, is not the least probable of the promises of the near future. The author is certainly correct in one of his earlier "propositions,"

"that the most vague, indefinite notions concerning it [the 'kingdom'] exist in the minds of many;" but it is not so evident that this is the true method for remedying the evil. The Church and the world of Christendom have been hearing of the Second Advent, the Millennium, the Restoration of the Jews, and other great affairs—indeed, sacred poetry, extending from "Dies Iræ" to "Advent Hymns," is freighted with them—as certainly coming events of the reign of Christ; but only by the boldest literalism of interpretation can any of them be established from the Scriptures. The whole subject is still undetermined, with, if we mistake not, a decided trend of opinion away from the literalistic methods of interpretation.

*A Religious Encyclopædia; or, Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology.* Based on the *Real-Encyklopädie* of Herzog, Plitt, and Hauck. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary. New York. Associate Editors, Rev. SAMUEL M. JACKSON, M.A., and Rev. D. S. SCHAFF. Three vols. Imperial 8vo, pp. 2631. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Biblical and Theological Dictionaries are recognized as indispensable parts of the apparatus for the study of the subject to which they relate, and in scarcely any other department of learning, sacred or secular, have there been greater improvements than among works of this class. On the purely biblical side Calmet's great work, which dates from the early part of the eighteenth century, embodied and so rendered accessible most of the learning at that time known, and this stood unrivaled down to the times of men now living. Kitto's Biblical Cyclopaedia and Smith's Biblical Dictionary belong to our own age, and their great value has been universally recognized. M'Clintock and Strong's Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia is confessed by the ablest judges to be "the most complete religious cyclopedia in the English language," constituting in fact, a thesaurus, a condensed library of its complex subject-matter. But its voluminousness—ten great volumes—is objectionable to many, not only on account of its cost, but also its fullness of discussions and details.

In Germany, the land of cyclopedias, the first place is readily conceded to Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, but that, too, is too large for popular use, and therefore Dr. Schaff and his associates have done wisely in condensing it, for an American edition, to scarcely a third of the original size; and so reduced it is now given to the public, in the three noble volumes named at the head of this article. The work is not simply a condensed translation of the German original, for large portions are entirely new matter, prepared by some of the best scholars of the times, and the style of the translations, as well as of the original articles, is pure and idiomatic English. Its biblical status is a happy combination of conservatism and enlightened progressiveness; its theology is the embodiment of the Catholic faith, agreeable to the *consensus* of Protestantism, liberal without license, and evangelical without fanaticism. It is just the hand-book that the student of the Bible and of Theology and Ecclesiastical History needs to have within easy reach.

We may also congratulate any who may use the work in view of the style in which it appears, in larger letters than are commonly used for such works, and with clear and firm white paper, so presenting a readily legible page. Its publication makes a valuable addition to the available helps for the acquisition of biblical and theological learning, and therefore it is entitled to a place, not only in the libraries of ministers, but also in those of Bible-class and Sunday-school teachers, and of all who would understand the great truths of religion.

*The Faith of Catholics: Confirmed by Scripture and Attested by the Fathers of the First Five Centuries of the Church.* With an Introduction by the Right Reverend Monsignor CAPEL, D.D. In Three Volumes. Pp. 468, 505, 491. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustel & Co.

With consummate wisdom, which nobody can blame, the rulers of the Roman Church are presenting its cause with its many aspects in the most plausible setting, and yet without at all abating any of its pretensions. They employ able and accomplished writers, polemics that know how to conceal the controversial designs of what they write, while every "quoin of 'vantage" is occupied, every weak point concealed or specially fortified, the undue concessions of their adversaries skillfully used, and the incidental infelicities of Protestantism made the most of.

The work whose title we give very fully answers to all that is here designated. It is a comprehensive system of theology, written with decided skill, well arranged, thoroughly elaborated in its details, and supported by ample authorities, partly scriptural, according to the Church's interpretation, but chiefly from the Fathers and the decrees of Councils, and the rescripts of the Popes. Very much that is taught in these volumes is of the highest excellence as simple and direct statements of Christian doctrine, but, according to the first principles of Protestantism, the truth so stated is held "in unrighteousness." Both Catholics and Protestants accept the Bible as the standard of Christian doctrine; but while the latter hold to the use of the word by every man, and the right and duty of private judgment as to its meaning, the former claims for the Church—that is, for the Pope for the time being—the sole and exclusive right to determine what is the sense of the Scriptures on any subject. Setting out with that rule of faith and method of proof, it is the easiest thing possible to prove whatever may be desired. Protestant ecclesiastics have been reluctant to accept and carry out their own fundamental rules on this subject, and especially to submit the Bible to the free handling of criticism, though certainly there is no middle ground between ecclesiastical authority and that of rational criticism. It would seem that not a few Protestant divines do not feel quite sure that it would be safe to submit the evidences of divine truth to an unofficial and not ecclesiastically limited inquiry and determination. But even that unworthy suspicion is rapidly giving way. The volumes before us are decidedly well made, and outwardly they would grace any minister's library; and their careful study would, no doubt, in many cases, prove both interesting and profitable.

*Pastoral Theology.* By JAMES M. HOPPIN, D.D., late Professor of Pastoral Theology in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 584. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Dr. Hoppin earned for himself a valuable reputation, and made the whole Church his debtor by his "Homiletics," published a few years ago. He at the same time secured the right to be heard on all kindred subjects; and accordingly the volume whose title is given above comes to hand attended with peculiar advantages. By these it will be sure to command a reading, after which it will need no further commendation than will be afforded by its own intrinsic merits. "Pastoral Theology" is the accepted, though rather awkward and improper, title by which is designated all the needful practical rules and instructions respecting the requisite personal qualifications for the office and work of the Christian ministry, and also the best methods for the performance of its duties. The author's notions of this subject appear to have been clearly apprehended, and he has successfully embodied his conceptions in his book.

The work is distributed into six "parts," or general divisions : I. The Pastoral Office. II. The Pastor as a Man. III. The Pastor in his Relations to Society. IV. The Pastor in his Relations to Public Worship. V. The Pastor in his Care of Souls. VI. The Pastor in his Relations to the Church. Under one or other of these heads almost every phase of discussion relative to the Christian ministry is brought forward and considered with great force and clearness, and a remarkable wealth of illustration, and also with a warmth of expression that indicates on the part of the writer something more than a merely professional interest in his subject. His ideal of the ministerial vocation removes it entirely from the category of simply the learned secular professions, and contemplates it as a divine ordinance of a strictly unworldly character and design; and the same thought enters into and gives expression to the statements respecting the pastor's personal qualifications for his work. The author's utterances on the "call to the ministry," making a complete section of twenty pages, are especially excellent, covering completely the prescriptive Methodist ground, and setting forth doctrines that have been esteemed as exclusive peculiarities of our own denomination. The section on the personal religious life of the pastor is also one of great religious value. Ministers of any time of life, and other Christians also, might read and ponder it to their advantage.

Books of this class are usually thought of as designed almost exclusively for young ministers or candidates in preparation, and to all such we can heartily recommend this one; but those of middle or post-meridian age who may read it, will find their conceptions of their calling widened and deepened by the study, and also their hearts warmed and impelled to a more intense zeal by the devotion that animates its pages. It is in every respect an admirable production, and a valuable addition to current religious literature. We know of no work better adapted, in respect to both its matter and its methods, for use as a text-book in theological seminaries, or for the minister's study. The publishers have brought it out in a style corresponding to its character.

*The Sabbath for Man.* A Study of the Origin, Obligation, History, Advantages, and Present State of Sabbath Observance, with Special Reference to the Rights of Working-men. Based on Scripture, Literature, and Especially on a Symposium of Correspondence with Persons of all Nations and Denominations. By Rev. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, A.M., Author "Successful Men of To-day," etc. 12mo, pp. 638. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The Sabbath is an integral element of Christianity, as a living and working social force, and it is needful that its claims should be kept in mind and made effective in the convictions of Christians. The Christian Sabbath is, no doubt, identical with that of the Old Testament, but the changed conditions of the Church from that of the Israelites very largely modify its observance, and render inapplicable many of its prescribed duties, but without at all removing any of its sacred sanctions. With this conception of his subject, the author of the volume whose title is given above has here brought together the statements and supports of the Sabbath, as usually held and taught by English-speaking Protestants, so making his book a real and somewhat comprehensive "Cyclopedia of the Sabbath."

The conflict to which the Church in this land is called involves, as one of its chief parts, the defense and maintenance of the day of rest, as a *holy* day, of divine appointment. The abolition of the Sabbath is among the active designs of the enemies of religion and good morals, the success of which purpose would most assuredly be followed by the practical overthrow of vital and spiritual religion. It is well, then, that the notes of warning should be sounded, and the danger properly recognized. The facts and statistics, and the opinions of those best competent to speak on such a subject, that are here given are just what are needed by the public, and there can be no doubt that this book will prove valuable in proportion as it shall be thoughtfully considered.

*Rifted Clouds; or, The Life-Story of Bella Cooke.* A Record of Loving-Kindness and Tender Mercies. 12mo, pp. 448. New York: Palmer & Hughes.

Some lives are made illustrious by great achievements, and some by sufferings and endurance; and these, though usually the less conspicuous, evince the higher virtue, and bring forth the most excellent results. The subject of this volume, though known only within a limited circle of personal friends, presents a beautiful example of the blessedness of sanctified afflictions, and of the power of divine grace to change pain and poverty into instruments of spiritual enrichment. The "dedication" indicates both the form and the spirit, as well as the especial purpose of the publication, "written in prayer and pain" for the benefit of children and grandchildren, "as a memento of the love that never ceased to cherish them." Its benediction, however valuable to them especially, will also extend to all who may read these things in the spirit in which they are written.

*Obscure Characters and Minor Lights of Scripture.* By FREDERIC HASTING, Editor of the "Homiletic Magazine," and Author of "Sunday about the World," etc. Pp, 284. Funk & Wagnalls.

There is a fascination in obscurity, and accordingly those parts of Scripture, names, facts, or doctrines, of which very little is written in the

book, are often most written about in other books. Here are twenty-eight names of as many persons, the whole history of each of whom is confined to a single incident or remark, and around these the author gathers a cluster of moral and religious reflection, each case illustrating some Christian grace or virtue. Many of these were issued in the "Homiletic Magazine." They are well written, suggestive, and abounding in wholesome lessons.

*Meditations on Life, Death, and Eternity.* By JOHANN HEINRICH DANIEL ZSCHOKKE. Translated from the German by FREDERICA ROWAN. Compiled by Rev. L. R. DUNN, D.D., Author of "Garden of Spices," etc. 2 vols, 18mo. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The original work, of which these neat volumes are both a translation and a condensation, enjoys a high reputation in the Fatherland among the evangelicals, and especially so if also crossed with a stripe of mysticism. But as that is not largely developed among American Christians, there need be no apprehension on account of that peculiarity of the original work, especially after Dr. Dunn's judicious revisals and selections. As here given, these volumes are worthy of a place in every household, library, or on the parlor table, or, best of all, in the private chamber, as helps to devotional meditation.

*Hand-Book of Bible Biography.* By Rev. C. R. BARNES, A.B. 12mo, pp. 546. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A dictionary of Bible names, brief but comprehensive sketches of all persons named in both the Testaments, making a convenient manual for all Bible students, and especially adapted for the use of Sunday-school teachers; a companion volume to Dr. Whitney's Bible Geography.

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#### PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

*The Elements of Moral Science. Theoretical and Practical.* By NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. 12mo, pp. 574. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

A college text-book is not the form in which one expects to meet with original matters in the departments discussed, and accordingly, in this work, its form and methods of presenting its themes and subjects are those that call for our attention; and yet in making even such a compilation and digest, an original thinker would not fail to impart a degree of novelty and freshness to the matters brought into consideration. This Dr. Porter has certainly done, and with his handling of them the commonplaces of moral science appear with much of the attractiveness of original thoughts. Theoretically, there is very little that is new in this book, but its arrangement, its modes of presentation, and its conclusions are all of a kind to awaken attention and to provoke thoughtful inquiry. In respect to philosophical methods, no two real thinkers may be expected to agree in all minor details, and yet the principal works on this subject are almost entirely the same, in all their essential particulars. Both as a

theoretical review of the subject, and as a practical embodiment for rules of right living, in the various relations of life, the work is worthy of much praise, and as a manual prepared for practical use by an experienced instructor, whose familiarity with the works of his predecessor in the same field afforded him the best advantages for his task, much may be reasonably expected of it ; and these expectations will be responded to, in those who may use this volume. Nearly every teacher in the department of learning here presented will wish to present his own views in his own way, usually by lectures, but even in such cases a text-book is useful; and for that use, as well as for private reading and study, this manual of President Porter is probably as good as any other.

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#### HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

*Egypt and Babylon. From Sacred and Profane Sources.* By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Cauden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 329. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Rawlinsons, Sir Henry and George, are brothers in learning and authorship, as well as by birth, and their contributions to biblical learning by their historical researches are among the most valuable additions that have been made, in our times, to the apparatus for the illustration of the Old Testament. The book named above, by the younger brother, though itself learned, is not out of the reach of any ordinarily intelligent reader of the Bible. It designs to trace out and set in order the points of contact between Israel and the Jewish nation, first with Babylon, and next with Egypt, and by that method to place many things in the historical books and the prophets in a clear light. It is an admirable work for the purpose intended, and it will greatly facilitate the intelligent study of sacred history. Its moderate price (\$1 50) makes it easy to be obtained, and its condensed form, easy to be mastered.

*Universalism in America. A History.* By RICHARD EDDY, D.D., President of the Universalist Historical Society, etc. Vol. I. A.D. 1636-1800. 12mo, pp. 554. Boston : Universalist Publishing House.

This volume is the first of the two that will constitute the completed work. It seems to be the result of a leisurely study of its subject by a competent student and writer, whose preconceptions of the subject in hand caused him to see them in a parallax, so that while the views that he presents are probably true as to his own conceptions, they may be nevertheless very far from being truthful. He thinks he finds the substance of Universalism in the literature of the Church all along its course from the earliest times, and coming to our own age and country he detects its presence in a considerable number of our chief denominations, among which he names the Mystics, Dunkers, Moravians, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists. The writer next passes to the history and career of John Murray, the father of organic Universalism in America. He was an Englishman, had been a

Wesleyan, but was expelled from the "society" for heresy, and coming to this country (about 1770), he became, apparently without seeking it, the originator of a sect. The history thenceforward becomes the record of the rise and progress of that sect in the United States, in which the names of Winchester, Ballou, Dr. Mitchell (of New York), and Dr. Priestly are prominent figures. The incongruous elements of the body, and because it was led by persons each one of whom was a body of divinity to himself, until it at length settled down into a species of rationalistic Unitarianism, are sketched with a good degree of ability, and evidently purposed fairness. The student of the theological aberrations of the age, as also of the minor religious bodies of the country, will find in this volume—and the same may be anticipated for the next—just what he wants, and in a generally unobjectionable shape.

*Memoirs of Rev. David Brainerd, Missionary to the Indians in North America.* Based on the Life of Brainerd Prepared by JONATHAN EDWARDS, D.D., and afterward revised and enlarged by SERENO E. DWIGHT, D.D. Edited by J. M. SHERWOOD, Author of "The History of the Cross." With an Introduction on the Life and Character of David Brainerd, by the Editor. Also, an Essay on God's Hand in Missions, by ARTHUR T. PIERSON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 354. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

There are names that the Christian world will not let die, and among these that of David Brainerd holds no secondary place. This volume is a tribute to his memory, as viewed by a number of highly competent writers. The book will prove valuable to all who may read it in the spirit in which it is written, both as a stimulus to Christian work, and an incentive to personal consecration.

*A History of the Four Georges.* By JUSTIN M'CARTHY, M.P. In four volumes. Vol. I. Pp. 321. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. M'Carthy is a genuine Hibernian; a good story-teller, and a clear, easy, and rapid writer. The royal Brunswickers are treated rather freely, but less truculently than by some others, who have made them the subjects of their satires. The historical matter is fairly well presented, and the whole is decidedly readable.

#### LITERATURE AND FICTION.

*Hymn Studies.* An Illustrated and Annotated Edition of the Hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By REV. CHARLES S. NUTTER. 8vo, pp. 475. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The author of this volume, an itinerant Methodist minister of the New Hampshire Conference, to whom, as to every Methodist, the Hymn-Book has probably proved, next after the Bible, his best book of devotion and spiritual instruction—perhaps also his most effective teacher in theology—having become interested in the history and literature of his silent companion, has busied himself in searching out its hid treasures. The results of his researches are embodied in this book, which abundantly

justifies all his labors and painstakings. The matter here given consists of, first, the Methodist Hymnal complete, all the hymns in full, and in their proper order, so adapting it to all the purposes of a hymn book, for the home or church services. And to each hymn is appended, in the form of foot-notes, (1) some account of its origin, with a brief account of its author and of the medium through which it was first given to the public; (2) the original title, if any, or text of Scripture referred to or paraphrased by it; and (3) the changes and emendations which it has undergone, with the omitted parts of the original hymn or poem from which it has been taken or made. These notes are the original matter of the work, and they constitute its chief value, for, though very brief, they convey a great amount of valuable information brought together by immense labor, and selected with rare judgment. Respecting this, the chief feature of his work, the author tells us in his brief and modest preface : "Information has been chiefly derived from original sources by referring to the published works of the authors, many of which are rare and difficult to find, and by correspondence with writers who are still living." The character of the work that had to be done indicates the newness of this department of literary research, for though there is no lack of books devoted to hymnology, the subject is still in a crude and chaotic state, in respect to both its general literature and its details and illustrative facts, but this work will go a long way toward remedying these evils.

Methodist hymnody, though not wholly distinct from that of all English-speaking Protestantism, is still somewhat differentiated by both its substance and its history. Methodism, in its larger sense, antedates the active ministry of the Wesleys both as a form of religious experience and a literature; and of the latter its hymns was the principal ingredient. But when the Wesleys became its heralds, their earnest Christian songs proved to be a scarcely less effective evangelistic agency than their burning sermons and exhortations; and perhaps the opinion which somebody ventures, that Charles Wesley's hymns were among the most effective auxiliaries in the great Methodistical revival, is not far wide of the truth. Coming close after the deeply religious but somewhat somber hymns of Watts, Doddridge, and Cowper, and in full harmony with their evangelical spirit, the hymns of the Wesleys supplemented them with the joyous inspiration of a triumphant faith and assured hope.

American Methodist hymnody, of which the "Hymnal" is the last and most nearly complete outcome, was not a creation, but it has come to its present *status* as the result of a steady growth from a rather unpromising beginning. Wesley's "Sunday Service," brought over by Coke in 1784, never came into general use. Asbury and Hitt compiled a small hymn book, and a few years later a larger and better one was brought out by Hitt and Ware, the Book Agents. But the growth and better culture of the Church at length demanded something still better, and this demand was responded to (about 1825) by Dr. Bangs's compilation, a very wide advance beyond its predecessor, which was generally adopted, and continued in use till 1849, when it was superseded by the elaborate compilation

made by an able committee ordered by the General Conference; and about thirty years later that was replaced by the present "Hymnal."

The work done by the committee of 1848 was most able, thorough, and exceedingly valuable. A synopsis of that work, and especially of its results, was made out by Dr. James Floy, who seems to have taken a leading part in it, and is embodied in a copiously annotated copy of the book (an octavo) now in the possession of this writer, of which, probably, there never was but the one copy. When the late committee was engaged in their work it was loaned to one of its members, but evidently it was not much used. It would have been a valuable help in the preparation of this volume, and whoever may hereafter engage in the same line of inquiry would do well to avail themselves of its helps. Respecting the use of all the hymns that make up that volume, in all the principal hymn books of Methodism and of the Protestant denominations of America, the record is nearly complete, and altogether reliable. It has also the genesis of most of the alterations which are so amply stated by Mr. Nutter, but without any account of their authority or origin; and here it is made evident that a large share of them came from Dr. Floy himself. These emendations are also pretty fully heralded in an article from his pen in the "Methodist Quarterly Review," for April, 1844. Dr. Floy was very broadly learned in hymnology, a critic by temperament and practice, a master of pure English, *but not a poet*. And yet his emendations of the hymns that had been sung for a hundred years were readily adopted as decided improvements, notwithstanding the prevalent prejudice against "tinkering with the hymns." A comparison of the hymns that have been altered, as they now appear in most hymn books, with themselves in their original forms, will much more than justify the liberties that have been taken with them. It would have been well if the work now under notice had been enriched by the ripe fruits of the studies and labors that are embodied in that annotated volume. Nevertheless it is a work of great value and real excellence; though it would in that case have been much more so.

*The Poetical Works of Lucy Larcom.* Household Edition. 12mo, pp. 318. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

Lucy Larcom has fairly won a place among the poets of the times, and this comprehensive collection of all she has written and chooses to preserve is the vindication of her claim to a niche in the Valhalla of song. She takes her place in the class with Hannah F. Gould, Mrs. Sigourney, the Cary sisters, and with perhaps two or three others, all of whom have written charming verses, but have failed to reach the altitudes to which a few favorites of the muses have attained. In her case, as with many others, relative inferiority in kind is compensated for by fecundity of production, for here we have more than three hundred pages, filled with nearly an equal number of independent productions, all of them, from the first one of the "Earlier Poems"—"Hannah Binding Shoes"—to the last of the "Later Poems"—"God bless You"—maintaining about the same level of

decidedly respectable mediocrity. A marked religious tone characterizes the collection, which, in our ignorance of the lady's church affinities, we would call Pietistic Unitarianism.

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#### MISCELLANEOUS.

*The Poets of the Church.* A Series of Biographical Sketches of Hymn Writers. With Notes on their Hymns. By EDWIN F. HATFIELD, D.D. 8vo, pp. 719. Price, \$3.

*Sunday Evenings with the Children.* By Rev. BENJAMIN WAUGH. 8vo, pp. 370. Price, \$2.

*Life and Letters of Elizabeth Prentiss,* Author of "Stepping Heavenward." 8vo, pp. 573. Price, \$2.25.

All published by Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 900 Broadway, N. Y.

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